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H O L L A N D, G E R M A N Y, S W I T Z E R L A N D  
a n d I T A L Y.**

**C O N T A I N I N G**

**A particular Description of the antient  
present State of those Countries; their na-  
tural, literary, and political History; Religi-  
ous Laws, Manners, Customs, Manufactures, Sci-  
ence, Painting, Architecture, Coins, Medals,  
Antiquities, Curiosities, &c. &c. &c.**

**Together with**

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tries visited by the AUTHOR; and Observations  
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Misson, Bishop Burnet, Mr. Addison, and other  
eminent Authors, by the late**

**MONSIEUR DE BLAINVILLE  
SECRETARY to the Embassy of the STATES-GENERAL  
at the COURT of SPAIN.**

**Translated from the AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPT (as  
published) by**

**Dr. TURNBULL, Mr. GUTHRIE, and Others.**

**Illustrated with COPPER-PLATES.**

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**L E T T E R S**  
**FROM**  
**COUNT ALGAROTTI**  
**TO**  
**L O R D H E R V E Y**  
**AND**

**The Marquis SCIPIO MAFFEI,**

Containing the State of the  
**Trade, Marine, Revenues, and Forces**

**OF THE**  
**R U S S I A N E M P I R E :**

**WITH THE**  
**History of the L A T E W A R**

**BETWEEN THE**  
**R U S S I A N S and the T U R K S,**

**AND**  
**Observations on the B A L T I C and the**  
**C A S P I A N S E A S.**

To which is added,  
**A Dissertation on the R E I G N S of the**  
**Seven K I N G S of R O M E,**

**AND**  
**Dissertation on the E M P I R E of the I N C A S ;**  
**By the same Author.**

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**Translated from the original I T A L I A N.**

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**I N T W O V O L U M E S.**

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**V O L U M E I I.**

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LETTER  
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VOL. II

COUNT *ALGAROTTI's*

E T T E R S

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R U S S I A, &c.

L E T T E R VIII.

to Lord HERVEY, Vice-Chamberlain  
to the King.

Hamburg, September 30th, 1739.

THE siege of Belgrade was in a  
manner the immediate conse-  
quence of the battle of Croftka. Val-  
s's army, extremely weakened, having  
retreated under the walls of that place,  
the Grand Vizir was at liberty to send  
Vol. II. B a body



a body of troops over the Danube, and thereby to command both sides of the river; which was by so much the easier to him, as the Austrians, who had already had the mortification to see a part of the fleet which they kept upon the Danube destroyed by the Turks, had just been obliged to burn the rest of it themselves, to prevent its falling into the hands of the conquerors.

The body of Turks which had passed the Danube, was considerable enough to raise apprehensions in regard to Temeswar; for which reason, Valerius having left a strong garrison in Belgrade, resolved to cross the river, and run to the assistance of that town. By these means the Grand Vizir succeeded in his scheme, and made the Austrians abandon their lines, between the Sava and the Danube, from which, twenty



two years before, Prince Eugene had  
allied forth against another Vizir, se-  
cure of victory. This Vizir immedi-  
ately took possession of them.

Vallis got the better of the Turks at  
Zanzova, which did not however hin-  
der them from forming the siege of  
Belgrade; and in order to succour it,  
he found himself constrained, a few  
days after, to repass the river. The  
Vizir, master of the Danube, blocked  
the place up on almost every side. The  
Austrians had nothing left but that an-  
gle of land on the West, between the  
Sava and the Danube, where Semlin  
stands; and not to lose his communi-  
cation with Belgrade, Vallis established  
his camp in that place.

Austrian  
Such was the situation of affairs,  
when the negotiations for peace were

resumed, more briskly than ever, in the French Ambassador, who was then in the Turkish camp. The Emperor sent thither Count Neuperg, an experienced politician, who signed the peace on the 31st of August. Solemnly avowed, and yet regularly observed by the Court of Vienna, it is in every respect the most mysterious that was heard of.

Among the other advantages which accrue from it to the Porte, the Emperor cedes to that power the fortress of Belgrade, that principal bulwark of Germany against the infidels, which has cost Christendom so much blood and treasure; whilst there still was an army in the field to succour it, the Governor answered for defending it at least two months longer, and finally whilst the Russians, allies of

er, who are not so much as mention-  
 as the in the treaty of peace, had just gain-  
 nper over the Turks, in the fight of Hun-  
 a exp ary, a complete victory, of which the  
 e pe consequences were already considerable,  
 ily d on the point of becoming much  
 serve ore so.

at c Marshal Count Munich, at the head  
 an army of sixty thousand men,  
 as drawing towards Choczim, after  
 s wh having traversed Poland. He had sent  
 he B general Romanzoff with a strong de-  
 fort chment against Kaminiek, a frontier  
 lwarl ace of Poland in that part, and situ-  
 , wh ed upon the Zabruck, which falls a  
 ch bl le lower into the Niester, with or-  
 ll was s to feign a design to pass the river  
 it, wh re; whilst he himself, at the head  
 defend his lightest troops, making a forced  
 r, and ch of near sixty miles in two days,  
 es of ssed the Niester above Kaminiek,

and thereby deceived the Turks, who waited for him lower down upon the borders of the Zabruck, behind strong intrenchments defended by a good artillery. Their army consisted of forty five thousand men, and the Tartar auxiliaries were still more numerous. As soon as they heard that Munich had crossed the Niester, they instantly passed it themselves, and hastened with all speed to cover Choczim, towards which he was marching.

A camp could not be more advantageously placed than in the spot they chose: it was a plain which partly commanded the country, and situated so that they had Choczim in their rear, in their front a little river forming marshes here and there, on their right heights and woods which they took



are to occupy, and on their left a great valley not to be come at but through narrow paths and precipices. They afterwards left nothing undone to render their camp inaccessible. Much was obliged to give them sufficient time for it. He was compelled to stay for Romanzoff, who conducted the baggage and heavy artillery of the army, and was stopped in his way by an inundation, which had carried away the bridges prepared for his passage: he was likewise forced to look about him a while in the enemy's country, in order to get the necessary informations, to victual his army, to reconnoitre well the camp he was going to attack, and, at the same time, to concert matters so as not to lose, either his advantages by too much quickness, or the opportunity by too great slowness.

At length Munich, having observed that the left wing was the least difficult to break, marched on the 20th August, in the morning, threatening only the right. He feigned to direct all his efforts against that side, attacking the heights, penetrating into woods and throwing showers of bombs into the Turkish camp. The Turks ran thither to support it; and while the fight grew warm in that part, Munich caused the greatest part of his troops to file off with great quickness, to the other side, so that the left wing was immediately surrounded by them. Before they had discovered the real place of attack, and were able to bring assistance up to the Russians had already passed the files, beaten down all that guarded their entrance, and pointed batteries against those of the Turks.

Wh

Whilst Munich was making these  
 movements, a cloud of Tartars attack-  
 ed him behind, and a body of Janis-  
 saries, animated with dauntless intrep-  
 idity, forced their way almost through  
 the main body of his army. Victory,  
 nevertheless, declared for him: he  
 seized quantities of ammunitions of war  
 and provisions in the Turkish camp;  
 and, without loss of time, invested  
 Choczim, which surrendered on the  
 next day, at discretion, the Ottoman army  
 having retreated to Bender.

From Choczim, Munich marched  
 with a kind of triumph to Pruth; and  
 displaying the standards taken from  
 the Turks, he restored there, so far as  
 was possible for him to do, the ho-  
 nor of the Russian arms, which he  
 so gloriously avenged. In a few  
 days after he entered Jassy, the capi-  
 tal

ral of Moldavia, deposed there  
Hospodar Gica, and proclaimed in  
stead Cantemir, who served in his  
my, receiving with great demonst  
rations of joy, in the name of the Cz  
na, the homage and fealty of a  
Greek province.

In the midst of these success  
when the Russians and the Austria  
who were in possession of Transylva  
were parted by but a few hours  
tance, if I may so express myself,  
some squadrons of Cossacks had actu  
ly penetrated into Bulgaria, peace  
concluded under the walls of Belgr  
in the name of the Emperor, by Co  
Neuperg. Soon after it was like  
signed, in the name of the Cz  
na, by a Russian Plenipotentiary, wh  
the dexterous Count d'Osterman  
dispatched to the Grand Vizir, im  
dia



ately after the news of the defeat at  
Kostka.

Both these treaties were negotiated  
by the mediation of France, who, some  
years before, having terminated the  
wars of Europe, by acquiring for  
herself Lorraine, and the kingdom of  
Naples for a Prince of her house, has  
now pacified it, by making the Au-  
strians on one hand cede to the Porte,  
Belgrade dismantled, with a part of  
Wallachia and Servia; and by making  
the Porte, on the other hand, cede to  
the Czarina, Azoph likewise dismantled,  
with a promise on the part of the Turks,  
to tie up the hands of the Tartars, so  
that they shall no longer infest the fron-  
tiers of Russia.

Such

Such was the end of a war which seemed, in its beginning, to threaten the ruin of the Ottoman empire in Europe; it must be owned that the Turks conducted it with profound skill; temporizing when it was proper so to do, and acting upon occasion with vivacity and ardour. Dexterity commonly fixes fortune, as they have just experienced. The Austrians have lost in this war a great part of the reputation of their arms, and the frontier they stood most in need of. As the Russians, if they have gained honour by it, they pay very dear for the acquisition. Their finest provinces have been laid waste, and their empire exhausted of money, soldiers and manners, and still exposed to the same dangers as before: weakened as it is, is far less fit to attain that point of glory

which was their object when they took up arms.

If, after such great events, I might be allowed to speak of myself, I would tell you, my Lord, that from Dantzig we took the road to Dresden. With talking of trade, war, and politics, I had forgot to enquire at Dantzig after the observatory of that famous astronomer, Eveillon. We were setting off when I recollected it. The celebrated Halley performed a pilgrimage thither; and as that great man had taken a very long journey to visit it, I would not have to reproach myself some day or other with the neglect of not seeing it. Accordingly, I went to this celestial vedette, where one now examines the heavens; and after that we proceeded on our journey the 15th of August.

After

After traversing a vast extent of country so entirely sandy, that an Antediluvian would maintain it to have been formerly the bed of the sea; we coasted a little before our arrival at Francfort, the fertile banks of the Oder, which, like the Duna, conveys into the Baltic such fine masts for ships.

At Francfort we crossed the river and passing through Lusatia, a province full of woods, and famous for beautiful linnen, we reached Dresden seven days; from whence you may judge, my Lord, that one does not travel post in this country, as in France and Italy.

Dresden is a city too well known for me to set about describing it to you. I will only observe, that the politeness of the people there is answerable to the magnificence



magnificence of the court, and that  
 the skilful eyes of your ladies would  
 find a great pleasure in running over  
 the rich emeralds and superb diamonds  
 which glitter in the King's treasury;  
 as well as the fine porcelaine, both of  
 Japan and of China, which is kept in  
 a palace called the Dutch, and which,  
 of these days, is to be covered with  
 pieces of porcelaine, like some Chinese  
 buildings.

I say nothing to you about that  
 embroidery with thread which is  
 brought at Dresden, and which ren-  
 ders the name of that place so famous  
 to the female world. Some would  
 likewise advise the making of point-  
 lace there, less dear, as is done at Mar-  
 seilles, in order to increase the trade of  
 the country. For the same reason a-  
 ble to, others would have the moulds  
 and

and colours of the porcelaine that  
made in Saxony, be of a better ta  
The pagodas daubed with blotches  
various hues, the little miniatures,  
gildings, the over-loaded ornaments  
and the designs void of gracefulness  
displease them greatly in these preci  
trifles, which, say they, ought only  
hit the fancy. One of those French  
artists who direct the manufactory  
Chantilly, would be necessary at Me  
sen, to furnish models there.

I think too, that it should be made  
an object of attention more than it  
to copy the old porcelaine of Japan  
China; the shapes of which, like  
plants and animals that are brought  
to us from those countries, have  
them a somewhat noble and exotic  
the same time. Above all, I believe  
that this trade, already very consid

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that, would become much greater still,  
 the Saxons applied themselves to the  
 imitation of antiques. With how ma-  
 ny sorts of vases, equally elegant and  
 simple, might they not enrich their  
 warehouses? What pleasure would it  
 be to have, in fine white porcelaine,  
 chosen pieces of bas-reliefs, a series of  
 medaillons of the Emperors and Phi-  
 losophers, and the most esteemed sta-  
 tues, such as those of the Venus of Me-  
 dis, the Faun, Antinous, Laocoon,  
 the dying gladiator, Apollo, model-  
 ed in small. I imagine that all the ca-  
 bins and deserts in England would  
 be ornamented with them.

I know not, my Lord, whether you  
 have heard, that it is to the folly  
 and madness of making gold that we are  
 indebted for this fine Saxon porcelaine.

The father of the now reigning King had a vast opinion of the great work, and having invited to Berlin a famous Alchymist of his days, this last, seeking for the Philosopher's stone, found out the porcelaine, which is really worth gold. The first that was made was brown, and is become very scarce. I have found means to procure a piece of it, which I intend to put in the museum of our friend, General Churchill, who would not have envied Sannazar his eclogues, but his collection of porcelaine.

From Dresden we proceeded to Leipzig, across the finest country in the world. Saxony, if one may so say, is but a span of land; but the best cultivated that eye can behold, full of people and of industry. At every

quar-



quarter of a German mile, or a little more than one of your miles, there is a miliary pillar upon the roads. It seemed to me as if I was travelling in miniature in the Roman empire.

We arrived at Leipzig at the time that preparations were making for the fair. Almost all Germany, and half of Poland and Hungary meet there, to provide themselves as well with manufactures of the country, as of foreigners, whose productions are transmitted either by way of Hamburgh, from whence Germany has a sight of the ocean.

This fair is a source of riches to the country. Of this it has given, and gives every day, great proofs. Accordingly, say the people here, it is the

Electors of Saxony who does the honours of the King of Poland. To form to oneself an idea of the wealth and resources of Saxony, it is sufficient to observe, that, since the death of Charles XII, very great contributions have been raised in it at different times without at all sinking the public credit, which, to speak like an Englishman, is the pulse of a state.

Another continual source of riches for this Electorate, is the silver mines of Freyberg. They are at least upon a par with those of Hartz, possessed in common by the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Wolfenbittel, and are the richest that are known in Europe since those of Greece and Spain no longer subsist. It is assured, that the

yield

eld every year a neat produce of an hundred thousand pounds sterling.

They afford a very extraordinary instance of the power of custom. Those who work in them are sure, on account of the malignant vapours which they breathe, not to live to above the age of forty, and most frequently not to reach even that; and, at the same time it is known, that all around them, it is common for people to live to seventy: yet, accustomed from their infancy to this destructive labour, the miners are as merry in digging the silver out of the bowels of the earth, as the workmen of Meissen are in fabricating their fine porcelaine. I ought not however to omit observing to you, my friend, that policy has been called in to the aid of custom. They who work in

the mines enjoy great honours and privileges : they are at Freyberg, like the canons at Cologne and Mentz.

Another particular concerning these mines is, that the hurricanes, which from time to time, desolate Saxony are all formed in them; or at least proceed from the mountains of Freyberg situated, to continue to express myself in sea terms, South-west of Dresden and South-east of Leipzig. This last city is seated in a fine plain, and surrounded with gardens after the manner of the Dutch. I paid a visit there to M. Mascow, a gentleman eminently learned in the law of nations, which is the prevailing science in Germany, and highly renowned, in particular, for his knowledge of every thing that concerns the balance between the Emperor and

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the Electors: he is likewise extremely  
 polite and affable, and has his Horace  
 at his fingers ends, like an English-  
 man. At the house of another of the  
 Literati of Leipzig, I saw a cabinet of  
 shells, in which the scarcest curiosities  
 of that kind are treasured up. There  
 are the Admiral, the Nautilus, the Mu-  
 sic-paper, Neptune's night-cap, and  
 I know not what other admirably  
 beautiful shell, said to be worth [up-  
 wards of fifty guineas, and valued  
 equally with the Otho and the oriental  
 scale.

From Leipzig we went to Potsdam,  
 the military noviciate of Prussia. It is  
 the garrison of that superb regiment,  
 which, for the comeliness and stature  
 of the soldiers, may be called the flower  
 of the human race. It is composed of,  
 including the supernumeraries, four

thousand giants, of all religions and countries. Yet there is not among them either schism or controversy. Means have been found to turn the attention solely to evolutions and other military exercises and to make all their pretensions center in excellence therein. To see a single soldier perform his exercise, through a multiplying glass, and to see this regiment perform it, is precisely the same thing, for regularity and justness of time. Many even think, that, in the handling of their arms, they are subject to minutiae, which, though they have a fine effect upon the parade, are very useless in a day of battle.

The Prince of Anhalt, who distinguished himself so greatly in the battle of Turin, is the institutor of this rigorous discipline. However, this regiment

ment of giants is always under the eye  
 of their master ; it is he who is proper-  
 ly their commander: he even takes that  
 title, having done us the honour to tell  
 us, that we should dine, not at the  
 table of a King, but at that of a Colo-  
 nel. It must be allowed, that he ac-  
 quits himself of the functions of one  
 with the greatest exactness. His regi-  
 ment is the principal object of his  
 thoughts, and for it alone he gives in-  
 profusion. As formerly in England  
 several guineas were not minded for  
 half an inch of margin more than usual,  
 in an edition or in a print, so here,  
 in or even twenty thousand dahlers  
 are not scrupled for a hand or two more  
 that a man has above the common size,  
 the finest *in-folio*, in Potsdam, is one  
 of Scotland, seven feet and an half high,  
 printed at Dublin in 1716.

In

In a word, this regiment is the King's delight: every morning, whatever the weather be, he goes to see mount guard, and seems always to hold it for the first time. It is that he gives audience, and admits strangers to his presence. Accordingly it has been said of him, that earth is the floor of his anti-chamber and the sky its ceiling. In some countries the breed of dogs is lessened by people who deal in them; here, where we have soldiers, the breed of men is enlarged. To this end, the tallest men that can be found are sought throughout the kingdom, to match them with the giants at Potsdam; and in the marriages of their children, the proportion of sizes is observed, as much as possible. If a girl is a hand higher than common, the King pays her portion.

Beside



Besides his superb regiment of  
wards, this prince keeps upwards of  
twenty thousand men, who, without  
being so tall, are all cast in the same  
mould, and form the most brilliant  
troops that it is possible to see. The  
arsenals of Stetin, Magdebourg, and  
Potsdam, his most important places, are,  
as well as that of Berlin, in the best  
condition, and furnished with a nume-  
rous artillery. The horses destined for  
military service are trained to it long be-  
fore hand, and distributed in the seve-  
ral provinces, where they do not remain  
idle; and where they are kept always  
ready to change the works of Ceres  
for those of Mars. In short, the King  
of Prussia can bring upon his frontiers  
an army of fifty thousand men, with  
all necessaries, in much less time than  
is requisite for one of our Italian un-  
dertakers to bring out an opera.

This

This monarch has introduced in his dominions a reform, similar to that which an abbot, who should lead his monks back from the ease and indolence of great towns into the country there to divide their time between prayer and husbandry, would establish in his order. Under his father Frederick, Berlin was given up to shew a magnificence; in lieu of which he has substituted the manners of the Lacedaemonians. With a pen of iron, he has suppressed the useless officers of the court, and their salaries; convinced that luxury cannot but be pernicious in a country poor of money, and little rich in industry: and knowing also that, without numerous troops, weakly disciplined, and paid out of his own revenues, a Prince never is sufficient

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dy respected at home, and courted  
road.

Though the department of war is his  
principal occupation, and all that sur-  
rounds him is military, his cares do not  
less extend to the other parts of go-  
vernment. His finances are regulated  
with the most perfect oeconomy. Peo-  
ple talk every-where of his treasure ; a  
magnant humour in the body politic  
according to the merchant, and the  
of the state in the opinion of the  
sops, who see nothing comparable  
a military chest. At Berlin, a vast  
partment, adjoining to the Royal trea-  
ry, is full of tables, chairs, branches,  
andlesticks, lamps, and balustrades of  
ver; every thing there is of that me-  
as formerly in the palaces of the  
ngs of Mexico.

He

He has re-peopled the territories which he possesses in Prussia and Lithuania, heretofore ravaged by the plague, by sending thither colonies purchased in the Catholic countries of Germany, where the Protestants have not the free exercise of their religion. He has likewise established breeds of horses, which are now in high repute. Potsdam owes to him almost the whole of its existence. Among other things, he has built there a church for his soldiers, which is his intended tomb; supported on the right hand and on the left, Mars and Bellona, who had not for long time before made their appearance in any of our temples.

He has likewise increased Berlin by more than half; and the new suburb, or rather the new city which has added to it, is called, from the

na



me of its founder, Willemstat. It  
 true, that the houses in it are neither  
 dear, nor so well tenanted, as those  
 your Hanover-square; but, says he,  
 have built nests, and sooner or later  
 the birds will come to them. It is great  
 that this Prince had not in his  
 service a *Palladio*. The Czar Peter  
 is not more fortunate; and, in the  
 country of the fine arts, the late King of  
 Sardinia, who built so much at Turin,  
 and for architect only a *Giovara*.

Agriculture is not the last of his  
 cares. In the same manner as the  
 King sent young gentlemen into foreign  
 countries, to learn there politeness or  
 maritime affairs; the King of Prussia  
 sends them into the country, there to  
 study plowing, and the manner of cul-  
 tivating land. Accordingly this art,  
 the most important of all, encouraged  
 and

and honoured by the Sovereign, making here considerable progress. Besides that agriculture furnishes bread to the soldiery, as this Prince possesses in various parts of his dominions, which are very extensive, many lands and demesnes under the title of gentlemen, he has a particular interest in their being improved.

You know, my Lord, that the Protestants, driven from France, carried to Berlin their manufactures and arts. That of working in steel is highly perfected there; and the cloths which are made in that city, especially the blue ones, are extremely beautiful. The manufacture is particularly protected by the King. After the example of your illustrious Elizabeth, he has prohibited, under very severe penalties

the exportation of wool of the produce  
 of the country : he has moreover esta-  
 blished a great magazine of wool,  
 where the poor work-people, who  
 are not able to buy any, may take  
 what they want, paying for it after-  
 wards in works for the King's account.  
 Before he gave shelter to King Stanis-  
 las, at Konigsberg, he furnished, in  
 great measure, Russia with cloths :  
 since that, this trade has fallen in-  
 to the hands of your countrymen.

What shall I say to you, my Lord,  
 of the Prince Royal, the lover and the  
 favourite of the Muses ? Several days  
 which we passed with him, in his castle  
 of Reinberg, seemed to me but a few  
 hours. He is the most intelligent and  
 most amiable of men. Though I could  
 name only his private virtues, I can  
 fully assure you, my Lord, that the

Vol. II. D world

world will one day admire his royal qualifications; and that when he shall be upon the throne, he will shew himself to be the greatest of Sovereigns. There is all the reason in the world to believe that he will seek out for great men, with as much eagerness as his father does for giants.

From Reinsberg, which is not far from Ferberlin, where that famous battle between the great Elector and the Swedes was fought, we repaired to Hamburg. The whole of this country is a sandy soil, like that which we passed over in going from Dantz to Hamburg, which, in its first origin, was only a fort raised by Charlemagne against the barbarians of the North. It has succeeded to the trade of Amsterdam, and now cuts in Germany a brilliant figure which that city did



erly there: I mean, that it is a place  
 of deposit for the Indian and oriental  
 merchandizes, which the English and  
 Dutch now bring into Europe, instead  
 of the Venetians.

But what am I thinking of, my Lord;  
 I pretend to talk to you about Ham-  
 burg, where there are so many of your  
 countrymen, and which, considering the  
 present state of navigation, is, one may  
 say, but a few miles from London!  
 Should I tell you, that this city is very  
 populous, that it has a man of war,  
 above three hundred merchant ships,  
 that it carries on a great part of the  
 whale fishery, that its trade with Spain  
 and Portugal is considerable, and, in  
 short, that the linnens of Silesia, of which  
 vast quantities are sold in Ameri-  
 ca are one of its staple commodities?  
 No; I must content myself with say-

ing, that we have waited for some days  
past the arrival of our frigate, which  
by Lord Baltimore's order, is sailing  
round Denmark, to come and take  
up here. I will only add, that I am  
extremely impatient to be on board  
and that I fervently invoke that blust-  
ing East wind, so much an enemy  
your countrymen, to blow soon, and  
waft me speedily to your Lordship  
St. James's. I believe, my Lord, that  
I do not presume too much upon your  
friendship for me, in flattering myself  
that, in your fine Park, *pascitur*  
*nostrum reditum votiva juvenca.*

LETTER

## LETTER IX.

to the Marquis SCIPIO MAFFEI, at  
Verona.

Berlin, August 27th, 1750.

THE trade of the English to Persia by the way of Russia, which has been so much talked of in the commercial and the political world, was in its first infancy at the time of my being at Petersburg; so that, were it not for an Englishman, who was one of the principal agents in that trade, and who has been so kind as to give me all the informations that could be wished for concerning it, during a fortnight that he has been here, I should not be able to tell you any thing more of its beginnings, than what I might chance to recollect having heard at that time.

time. But now, thanks to the circumstantial informations I have been favoured with, I am enabled to give you a pretty complete history of it. The facility of conversing with the most distinguished travellers, is not one of the least advantages which attach me to Berlin. All those who do not make ruins the only object of their research, and whose enlightened minds require more solid food, are attracted here by rarities of a very different kind from those of our Italy; and above all, the curiosity of seeing upon the throne not a man King, but a King man.

As soon as the English had discovered the port of Archangel, under the reign of the famous Iwan Basilowitch, and cemented a trade with Russia, they cast their eyes upon the Caspian Sea. This sea being situated between



empire and Persia, by its means, and principally with the help of the Wolga, which, after winding through a very great part of Russia, falls into it below Astracan, they immediately formed the design of opening to themselves a road into Persia, much easier and shorter than that of the Portuguese, then masters of the Indies, obliged to go round Africa and a part of Asia, to arrive at the Persian gulph.

They were by so much the more encouraged thereto, as the Northern part of Persia, which is bathed by the Caspian sea, is of far greater advantage, for trade, than the Southern. The parts of the provinces of Shirvan, Manabadan, and principally those of Ghilan, are the best and most esteemed of the East; and the English would have been glad to have the weaving of them

in their island, in the same manner they have established with their wool which they used formerly to send to Flanders, those manufactures of cloth which have since thriven so well. Various attempts were the consequence of this scheme, and their success was such, that the President Thuanus thought them worthy of notice in history: but in those times, the conquests made by the Russians on the South-side of their empire, were not sufficiently secured, nor was the trade of the English firmly enough established to afford a reasonable prospect of their being able to accomplish so vast and complicate an undertaking.

These difficulties however did not deter may a Duke of Holstein, some years after. He had set up manufactures of

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in his dominions, and thought to get that material directly from Persia, by the channel of Russia. To this end, he sent a solemn embassy to the Sophi, of the number of which was, as you know, the famous Olearius; but all that resulted from it was, a shipwreck upon the Caspian, and a very good account of the Western coast of that sea: just as an account of the Hottentots was the only fruit of one Krosick of Berlin's sending an astronomer to the Cape of Good Hope, to have the parallax of the moon; an undertaking which, however, well executed, as it has just been, is truly worthy of a king.

The French, who began to be sensible of the importance of trade, the source of circulation to a state, and who already pursued it with ardour, had also thoughts of procuring

curing themselves silks by this same channel of Russia; especially when towards the latter end of the reign of Lewis XIV, there was a Persian Ambassador at Paris: but various considerations prevented their dwelling upon it.

At length the patient and bold genius of the English seemed lately, during some years, to have accomplished this great scheme, which owed its first origin to them. One Elton, of a fiery imagination, enterprising and ambitious to excess, at the same time seaman, warrior and merchant, revived it when it was thought to be absolutely given over; and after having removed the obstacles which opposed its execution, and began to reap its fruits, he was himself the principal cause of the ruin of the edifice he had just raised, so that it dropped



dropped at once, without leaving any  
 hope of its being ever erected again.

Having served in Russia, and travel-  
 ed in that vast empire, he saw with  
 how little expence goods might be car-  
 ried there, and be conveyed by the  
 Wolga into the Caspian sea; the ad-  
 vantage it would be of to his nation to  
 find in Persia a new vent for her wool-  
 len manufactures, which are in infi-  
 nitely less request in the Levant, than  
 those of France; and the great profits  
 he would make by taking in return  
 raw silks, bought at first hand, from  
 the peasants themselves at Ghilan,  
 whilst at Smyrna and Aleppo they  
 must be purchased from the Armeni-  
 ans, masters of the inland trade of  
 Asia, who carry them to those cities,  
 by means of their caravans: in short,  
 he saw, that the circumstance of things  
 could

could not be more favourable for establishing this trade.

Nadir-Schah, known among us by the name of Kouli Kan, a prince who was at the same time a great warrior and a great promoter of trade, kept a standing army of above two hundred thousand men, and had just transferred the seat of the Persian empire to Mesched, the capital of Korassan, distant but a few days journey from Astrabat, a town situated upon the Caspian: so that it was by this means easy to supply him at first hand with the woollens necessary for cloathing his troops, which he was obliged to buy at second hand, from the Armenians who purchase them in the Levant; besides the hope of vending by so much the more considerable a quantity of them, as they might be carried to Kie

and Bokara among the Usbeck Tartars, situated on the East of the Caspian, and to the North of the Mogul's dominions, from whence would be received in exchange gold, lapis-lazuli, and other precious commodities which do not reach Europe till after long circuits in the Indies, and immense charges which render them extremely dear.

To secure the advantages of this trade, and render it as lucrative as possible, Elton judged it necessary to have upon the Caspian sea, at least a couple of ships, which were to be built upon the Wolga at Casan; that thus the English might navigate that sea at their pleasure, making Mesched the centre of their trade, and Astrabat their store-house.

Having

Having proposed this plan to the In R  
 English factory at Petersburg, he w esides  
 sent by them with a small cargo to Pe which u  
 sia, by way of trial; and, on return dvanta  
 ing from thence with an ample and pally  
 vourable privilege granted by Rizerfian  
 Kouli-Mirza, Regent of the kingdom which sh  
 in the absence of Nadir, then upon Turk.  
 expedition against the Mogul, any fee  
 scheme began to bid fair. It was ev they fe  
 warmly approved of by the Russia co at were  
 pany in England, to whom the facto lton ag  
 of Petersburg communicated it: beyond  
 that after some thwarting from ail from  
 Turkey and East-India companies, w a board  
 saw, with an evil eye, that of Ru ergo. I  
 set foot in their territory, the Caspi Astraca  
 trade received the solemn sanction o sea, an  
 the Parliament of England. st time,  
 the ocean.



In Russia it met with no opposition: besides the ties of reciprocal interest which unite the two nations, no small advantages arose from it to Russia, principally by the benefit of carrying the Persian and English merchandize, of which she at the same time deprived the Turk. The hope of the Russia company seemed then to be well founded. They sent over a great many goods that were commissioned, and appointed an agent of the new trade. Active beyond conception, he was ready to sail from Casan in the spring of 1742, on board an excellent ship, with a rich cargo. In a few days after, he arrived at Astracan, from whence he put out to sea, and the Caspian beheld, for the first time, that flag which has subdued the ocean.

The

The venture did not, however, succeed so well as had been expected; scarcely a third part of the Persian my wear cloth; and the road from Trabrat to Mesched is infested by Turcomans, a savage people who live thereabouts, in a desert, which want of water renders inaccessible. It was likewise found, that hardly any thing is made of European goods at Kijik and Bokara; not to speak of the rivers that are continually run in Asia. Russia, where the Tartars and Cumucks are not less addicted to robbery than the Arabs in the South of Asia. The miserable condition to which Persia was reduced by her intestine broils offered not less difficulties for Elton to overcome. Long and cruel wars have exhausted her of men and money, and Nadir, in whose power it was to restore her, and give her new life, making

aking the immense treasure he had  
bought from India circulate amongst  
people, had just buried that wealth  
the fortress of Kelat, and maintain-  
his army by dint of taxes and op-  
pression.

The new trade made however some  
progress; and had it been conducted by  
industrious and moderate men, con-  
siderable profits might still have been  
reaped from it. But the causes  
which would at last necessarily have  
brought on its ruin, fermented secret-  
ly and even began to shew themselves.  
The Armenians, transplanted formerly  
from their own country by Schah Abas,  
and reduced to live by trading, con-  
ceived a violent jealousy against the ri-  
chers they met with in the Caspian, and  
checked by the Russian merchants, who  
brought leather and other commodities

from Casan to Persia, they plotted the ruin of the English. Without any other events to hasten it, these would infallibly have experienced how difficult it is to strive against a cunning nation, long established in a country accustomed to the servile usages of the East, aiming at only one point, and to say all, the impossibility that a trade formed in the very heart of the dominions of a foreign Prince, can support itself for any considerable time.

But what hastened the ruin of the English was Schah Nadir's marching his army into the provinces of the Caspian. During the three years which he employed in conquering the Indies, the Tartars of Kieva and Bokara had made several incursions into the Korassan, as well as the Lasghi into Schirvan; and these robbers had carried off from the



ence a great number of families in-  
 slavery. Nadir, returning victorious  
 from his expedition, easily subdued the  
 Tartars of Kieva and Bokara, who in-  
 habit a level and open country ; but it  
 was not so with the Lasghi, surrounded  
 on all sides with inaccessible mountains,  
 wearied to fatigue, excessively jealous of  
 their liberty, all soldiers, in a word  
 the Swifs of Asia.

The Persians have made, at different  
 times, various efforts to subdue them ;  
 but all in vain : infomuch that it is be-  
 come a proverbial saying among them,  
 that whenever they have a mad-man  
 for King, he will set about subduing  
 the Lasghi. Nadir, so prudent till  
 then, emboldened by his victories, dar-  
 ed to march against them, and met the  
 fate of his predecessors.

The fame of his exploits induced first a few tribes, situated on the Southern frontier, to send him hostages and submit at discretion. According to the Eastern custom, he transplanted the greatest part of them into the province of Korassan. He should have been content with that; like Cæsar who, after he had passed the Rhine, remained satisfied with having spread terror among the Germans, and by that means thought of going to provoke them in the depths of their forests. Nadir, on the contrary, elated by his first successes, penetrated into the country, seized upon an important pass, plunged into the midst of the rocks and precipices of Daghiston. In that situation, the conqueror of the Indies was on the point of being surrounded and attacked on all sides, by those mountaineers, acquainted with their small

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acks: the military skill of the rival of  
 clostris and Alexander, far from sub-  
 uing them, could hardly save him  
 from their hands, and carry him to  
 erbent, to endeavour there to get  
 ctuals for his famished army.

He then perceived the advantage of  
 transporting things by sea, declared  
 erbent a free port, and invited the  
 ssians to bring thither corn and  
 al. The prospect of gain determi-  
 ed them; and though the government,  
 rmed at the neighbourhood of so  
 nsiderable an army, had prohibited  
 exportation; they victualled it, and  
 icated Nadir from the worst situa-  
 he had ever been in.

Elton's ship, which had arrived in  
 an during these transactions, was

chartered to carry rice to Derbent. Being arrived there with his cargo, he repaired to the Persian camp, where Nadir asked him many questions concerning navigation and commerce, to which he answered with an English brevity. Nadir, perfectly satisfied in regard to all he had asked, caressed him much. That Prince, who constantly meditated great enterprizes, judging him proper to assist the execution of his views, promised him mountains of gold; and it was not difficult for so great a sovereign to retain in his service a man fond of novelty, and tormented with ambition.

The first commission he gave him was to erect a fort in the middle of the province of Balcke, to awe the Turkmans, who, not content with extending their robberies from Mesched

Astral



Astrabat, infested also by their piracies  
the sea before this last town, and the  
Southern coasts of the Caspian.

In the mean time, Nadir considered  
the means of having a fleet: Ghilan,  
with its woods and cotton, and Man-  
anderan with its iron, offered him the  
principal materials for that purpose.  
He intrusted this department to Elton;  
and such was the activity of this last,  
that, notwithstanding the ignorance  
and awkwardness of the Persians in  
every thing that relates to maritime af-  
fairs, in a very short time he had built  
and completely fitted out a frigate of  
twenty guns. He immediately ranged  
those seas as sovereign, exacting the  
compliment of submission from all the  
Russian ships he met with, which, till  
then, had feared nothing there but the

winds and waves : in short, if death had not carried off Nadir while the things were transacting, that Prince would probably have become, by means of his English minister, the maritime power of the Caspian, as Peter the Great was some years before.

It may easily be imagined, that a novelty like this could not but excite many rumours at the court of Petersburg, and Elton's being immediately recalled was the first thing insisted on. The Russia company, who could employ in his favour only the channel of negociation, offered him a considerable sum, if he would leave Persia, and moreover engaged to procure him employment in the English navy, or obtain for him the chief command

dead an expedition intended to be sent  
 for the discovery of a passage into the  
 South sea, by the North-west of Ame-  
 rica. But whether it was not in his  
 power to quit Nadir's service, or whe-  
 ther he had really taken a liking to it,  
 nothing could prevail on him to return  
 to England.

The company were therefore obliged  
 to sell the ships they had built at Casan;  
 and a thundering decree, by which the  
 Empress of Russia forbade them, in  
 1746, all trade in the Caspian, entire-  
 ly demolished their last hopes. From  
 that time, the English thought only of  
 bringing from Petersburg the parcels  
 of silk they had still remaining in Ghi-  
 ra; but even in this they could not  
 succeed. The death of Nadir, which  
 happened the year after, and the civil  
 wars

wars which instantly thereupon threw Persia into confusion, dissipated the company's effects: as in a storm, a little boat is soon swallowed up by the waves. Elton, who had made himself a pretty considerable party, and who hoped to maintain his dominion over the Baltic, survived Nadir but a short time, and perished after having given the greatest proofs of valour.

The Englishman to whom I owe these particulars, and who, having himself acted a great part in the undertaking, is perfectly well acquainted with its most minute details, intends, if I may believe him, to publish the history of them, and to add thereto, an account of Persia, where he lived some time, together with a natural history of the Caspian. So that it may be said



the knowledge of the true situation of that sea is owing to the conquests of the Russians; it is to the trade of the English that we are indebted for an exact description of its coasts.

## LETTER X.

## LETTER X.

*To the same.*

Berlin, February 4th, 1751.

**Y**OU are in the right, Sir; Virgil's *sic vos non vobis* may properly be applied to the English, for all the pains they took to open the trade of the Caspian. Russia gathers the fruit of the tree they planted, and they are now restricted to the privilege of buying, at second-hand, at Petersburg the raw silks of Persia. Thus the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, and others bathed by the Caspian, are now of more service to Russia, than when they were under her dominion.

Beside

Besides that Augustus's famous law  
*de Coercendo Imperio*, is strictly applica-  
 ble to Russia, and that she never will  
 depart from it with impunity ; it is im-  
 possible to say how much those fo-  
 reign provinces cost her, during the  
 short time that she possessed them.  
 Peter the Great seized upon them, in  
 the beginning of the troubles of Persia,  
 as well in hopes of drawing into his  
 dominions, by their means, a part  
 of the rich trade of Asia ; as through  
 fear of the Turks finding means to  
 settle in them, and thereby to bar  
 him likewise on the side of Astra-  
 khan.

They at first brought in to the  
 Russians six hundred thousand ru-  
 bles a year, exclusive of the keep-  
 ing of the garrisons, consisting of  
 twenty

twenty thousand foot, six thousand dragoons, and four thousand Cossacks; but the continual desertion of the peasants, who fled from a foreign yoke, made the culture of silk, cotton, and rice, diminish every year, and withdrew from them the revenues of the Prince. On another hand, the heat of the climate, the dampness of the soil, the bad quality of the fruits, and the malignity of the air, occasioned by the high mountains which surround the provinces, obstruct its action, and stop the winds, carried off every year an astonishing number of Russians; in much that, in fourteen years which they kept them, an hundred and thirty thousand of that nation are reckoned to have perished there. They were to them what the fortress of Orsova is situated at the bottom of the Danube

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Zulpha.  
Consul, wh



It may be allowed that expression, was  
the Imperialists.

The Russians retained them till 1736,  
though they had agreed to give them  
up some years before. During this  
interval, they continued their garrisons  
in them in the name of Persia; and  
they did not evacuate them till after  
Kouli Kan had concluded peace with  
the Turks. As to the rest, this resti-  
tution procured them great advanta-  
ges; such as an exemption from all  
duties, as well on what they carry into  
the ports of the Caspian, as on what  
they export from thence, and the pri-  
vilege of selling their various commo-  
dities at Hispahan, with the same im-  
munities as the Armenians enjoy at  
Zulpha. Since that treaty, a Russian  
Consul, who is allowed to have a guard  
of

of soldiers of his own nation, residing  
at Reshed, the capital of Ghilan.

With these several advantages, and  
the ports she has in the Caspian, you  
see, Sir, that Russia must hereafter be-  
come possessed of all the trade of Pe-  
sia. The English will have taught her  
to navigate that sea, and the several  
dangers which they ran will turn to her  
advantage. We may really believe  
that they will publish every particular  
which they observed in it. The famous  
account of Admiral Anson's voyage  
round the world, proves sufficiently  
how little they are mysterious in regard  
to discoveries, which any other nation  
would keep religiously locked up  
among the secrets of the cabinet.

I myself am now sufficiently ac-  
quainted with what concerns the Cas-  
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Vol. II.

man, for a person who does not intend to navigate there; and think I can tell you enough of it to satisfy your curiosity, and enable you to wait, without impatience, till more ample details of that sea appear.

Ptolomy placed its direction lengthways from West to East, though, in fact, it is from South to North; and moreover he made it three times larger than it really is. Abulfeda, an Arabian Prince, Sovereign of Hama in Syria, gave, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, a much less faulty description of it, even for what concerns the latitude of its Southern parts. His observations have been greatly improved on by Olearius, who, in his account of his travels, first made known its size and shape. Vossius

Vol. II. F and

and Cellarius did not the less write  
 against him ; choosing rather to believe  
 what Ptolomy relates, upon the faith  
 of we know not whom, than a learned  
 man who declared what he himself  
 had seen and verified. At length  
 Czar Peter, availing himself of his  
 conquests upon the Caspian, caused  
 a chart of it to be drawn ; and, in 1722  
 sent it to the Academy of Sciences  
 at Paris, of which he was a member  
 and present worthy of an Academician  
 King.

Then only there was an exact picture  
 of the Eastern coast of that sea, which  
 not having any ports, and being posses-  
 sed by the Tartars, had always been  
 inaccessible to travellers : but it is now  
 much better known by Nadir's expedi-  
 tion into Balkan, against the same Tar-  
 tars.



This sea is mediterranean, and without any external communication with other seas; contrary to the opinion of the antients, who, excepting however Herodotus and Ptolomy, thought it a gulph of the main ocean. Is it not perhaps a subterraneous one with the gulph of Persia or the Black-Sea? To decide this question, it would be necessary to anatomize the globe.

It has no tides, nor can it have any; being a narrow disconnected sea. Its waters are salt, and so deep, that, at the distance from the shore, no bottom is to be found. As to the rest, it does not now find in it either those monsters, which formerly rendered it famous, or those rocks which inspired so much horror.

From May to September, it is  
 pleasure to sail there upon it. The  
 months of June, July, and August  
 are the best ports of the Caspian;  
 the illustrious Spinola said of our Me-  
 diterranean. The West winds are  
 prevalent on this sea. That of the  
 East is moderate there, and produces  
 agreeable weather even in the midst  
 of winter. As to those of the North  
 and South, which sweep its whole length,  
 they blow with such impetuosity, that  
 driving the waters before them, they  
 heap them up to the height of three  
 or four feet, and sometimes much more.  
 When they abate, the waters return  
 to their level with a violent agitation  
 and a furious current; which is  
 more irregular and more dangerous  
 on the coast of Russia than elsewhere,  
 on account of the resistance formed by

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ivers Gamba, Yaiek, and Wolga, which fall into it. These two are almost the only risks that are run upon this sea, especially if one adds to them the ignorance of those who navigate it. The Russians of this part are still novices in the art of working ships; and you know, Sir, that the Persians never were great seamen.

The Caspian does not abound in ports. On its Northern side there is not one, if we except Astracan, and that is twenty leagues up the Wolga. The Eastern shore is skirted with sandbanks, and armed with rocks, which prevent all approach. There is, however, on that side, a small gulph, called the Bay of Alexander, whose name is as common in the East, as that of Caesar in France; and Balkan, the resort of the Turcoman pirates. Upon

a point of the Southern coast, Astrakhan presents a kind of port at the mouth of the river Korgan. In the province of Manzanderan, ships anchor at Alemmarood, and at Farsabad. Langarood and Enzellea, in the province of Ghilan, are tolerably good roads.

In the province of Schirvan, upon the Western coast, Bakou, which the Turks give also to this sea, is the best, not to say the only port. Equally sheltered from winds and waves, ships require neither anchor nor moorings to be in safety there. There is a very great trade in the raw silks of Ghilan, which was formerly carried on at Bakou, and it still is famous for the quantity of rock-salt, sulphur, and saffron which are shipped there. Nieza has a pretty good road.

Derbe



Derbent, the Iron port, or the Caspian port, touches the mountains of Daghestan. This town, founded, as is said, by Alexander, was taken in the beginning of the troubles of Persia, by the Czar, who decreed himself the honours of a triumph for this conquest. In 1742, Nadir declared it a free port, and it will never be any thing but a very bad one, *statio malefida carinis*. The rest of the coast from Derbent to Astrabat is low and flat. The greatest part of it is swampy, and, during half of the year, the air is thick and foggy.

The Caspian extends from the thirty-seventh to the forty-seventh degree of latitude; that is to say, it is about the length of the Adriatic. Its breadth is about two hundred miles in the narrowest part, and at Bakou, where it is

narrowest, it is not above one hundred over. The high mountains which command it on the West-side and on the South, serve for signals to sailors. The Demoan, rival of Mount Ararat upon which the Persians pretend that Noah's Ark rested after the deluge, is the highest of them all. Ararat itself is seen from the Caspian when the air is perfectly clear.\* Not far from Baku rises a very extraordinary mountain; from the quantity of the talc which covers it, one would take it for a mountain of diamonds, when the sun shines upon it.

But I think, Sir, it is time to finish our voyage, and land somewhere.

---

\* Mount Ararat is above seventy leagues from the Caspian.

## LETTER XI.

*To the same.*

Potsdam, February 19th, 1751.

I forgot in my last letter to mention to you a particular concerning the Caspian, which deserves the greatest attention. It is a phænomenon which I thought the less to omit observing to you, as it affords a fresh proof of the truth of the speculations of that Manfredi, who was so great an ornament to his country, whose death we both have so sincerely lamented, and whose memory is still so dear to us : I mean to speak of the continual elevation of the level of that

You

You remember, Sir, that Manfredi having been called to Ravenna, for some affairs concerning the waters there, perceived, in taking his levels, that the ground floors of the antient buildings of that city were lower than the surface of the sea; and that, among others, it was a foot higher than the pavement of the dome, a monument as old as the time of Theodosius. Such a phænomenon seems at first so strange, that one can hardly believe it, even after the most exact observations. They are however so numerous and so well authenticated, that their evidence is irresistible.

At Venice, the vault under the church of St. Mark is no longer of any service, on account of the waters which have reached into it; and when

the



the tides are a little high, the Laguna over-flows the place of St. Mark, though it is not long since it was raised a foot: which is a manifest proof that the level of the sea rises incessantly. Anaxagoras was then right in answering the person who asked him, whether he thought the sea would one day cover the mountains of Lampfacus, that he made no doubt of it, provided time did not fail. So Polybius, that profound genius, considering the banks which the sands brought down by the Danube, and other rivers, form in the Euxine sea, foretold, that, in the course of ages, that sea would overflow its banks, and, spreading over the lands which now confine it within its bed, be no longer navigable: for which one of those learned commentators, who see no farther than their noses, has not scrupled to censure him; because

because an event, which requires perhaps forty thousand years to take place has not happened in the course of two thousand.

Manfredi tried to calculate the time that the fulfilling of Polybius's prediction will require. Supposing the same which the rivers bring down, to be the bulk of their waters in the proportion of 1 to 174, which has been observed at Bologna of the Reno, a river which, without being limpid, cannot be instanced as a muddy one; and estimating afterwards, with the greatest exactness possible, the quantity of water, as well of rain as of springs which the sea receives annually, he found that in 348 years, it must rise half a foot Paris measure. \*

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\* The Paris foot is to the English, as 12 to 13.

Hartsoecker, chiefly famous for the discovery of the spermatic worms, found also in those dikes which are the ramparts of Holland against the impetuosity of the waves of the ocean, manifest signs of the elevation of the level of the sea; but he does not make its progress so slow as Manfredi; for, supposing a ninety-ninth part of sand in the waters which the rivers carry into the sea, he reckons that, in consequence thereof, the surface of the sea must rise a foot in the course of a century. If one considers the changes which have happened at Venice within two hundred years, it must be allowed that the Dutch naturalist is nearer the mark than Manfredi, who, not to shock the common opinion of his countrymen too violently, did not dare to set forth the fact in its true light,

light, for fear of seeing his conjecture immediately ranked in the class of paradoxes.

But in fact, an unanswerable confirmation of the truth of what Manfredi observed in our Adriatic, is, as I told you in the beginning of my letter, what has been likewise remarked in the Caspian. The level of that vast Lake rises every day, by the quantity of sand and slime carried thither by the great rivers which fall into it. It has just been observed, that there are now twelve feet of water in a certain place near Astracan, where there were but six in 1722. The observations of the Persians agree with those of the Russians. At Langarood, the sea has gained so much since the beginning of this century, that several huts built then upon its borders, are now entirely



ly covered by it; and the Bay of Affra-  
 bat, which formerly was fordable, is  
 now ten feet deep. The same thing is  
 noticed of a streight between Deverish  
 and Naphtonia, in the gulph of Bal-  
 kan; and at Derbent, a key, on which  
 goods were landed not very long ago,  
 is now quite overflowed.

It is not to be wondered at, that the  
 level of the Caspian rises faster than  
 that of our seas. Besides that it has no  
 outlet into any other, and that it is  
 not of very great extent, the quality of  
 the rivers which fall into it must be  
 considered. It is true that the Oxus,  
 by which the products of the Northern  
 Indies were formerly carried into the  
 Caspian, from whence they passed into  
 Europe by the Cyrus, having been  
 turned another way by the Tartars,  
 and losing itself in the sands, no longer  
 flows

flows into it: but it still receives the Kur, the Sambur, the Jamba, the Yaeik, and finally, after a course of seven hundred leagues, in which two hundred rivers, if I mistake not, pay homage to it, the Wolga, one of the most considerable rivers in all Asia, far superior to the Danube, which is the largest in Europe; and which figures in our maps of the world with the Nile, the river of the Amazons, and that of la Plata.

## LETTER X

## LETTER XX.

*To the same.*

Potsdam, August 24th, 1751.

Am highly pleased, Sir, to find that my last letter has merited your approbation. Viraliano Donati's observations along the coast of Dalmatia, which you quote, in confirmation of what Manfredi found at Ravenna, are not unknown to me; Monsieur de Laupertuis, to whom they are dedicated, having been so kind as to communicate them to me. At Lissa, at Fiume, at Zara, and in several other places, the level of the sea is higher than the ground-floor of the antient buildings, which, in order to have the necessary drains, and not be un-

wholesome to live in, were undoubtedly built much higher than it. - Not as they are built upon solid rocks, is not possible to suppose they have sunk the least in the world.

Zendrini has made similar observations at Viareggio, upon the elevation of the surface of the sea; a phenomenon, says he, which was not unknown to our learned of the thirteenth century, and which is expressly noticed by the engineer Sabbadini, who wrote a great deal concerning the *Laguna* of Venice.

But what will you say at last, Sir, notwithstanding facts so apparently decisive, naturalists should be produced who assert the directly contrary? I do not speak of those who, with Maillet, would prove it by certain lands found



which the sea has visibly withdrawn itself: Ravenna furnishes an unanswerable argument against them. From very exact levels which have been taken, we are sure that the sea has risen here several feet since the time of the Emperor Theodosius; and yet it has withdrawn itself so, that that city, which was a port wherein the Roman fleet assembled, is now a league up within land.

The littoral movement which carries the sands of the rivers of Romagna towards the entrance of the Adriatic, is the principal cause of that great bar, which separates, in some measure, Ravenna from the sea. The same must be said of the lower Egypt, where the delta forms the mouths of the Nile.

I meant therefore to speak to you Sir, of a Swedish Mathematician, who pretends, from long repeated observations, that the level of the Baltic, of that part of the ocean which bathes the Western coast of Sweden, sinks continually: and that diminution is not of half a foot in 348 years, like Manfredi's elevation, nor of a foot in a century, like that of Hartsoëker, but of a full inch a-year, that is to say of about eight feet in a century. From whence you see, Sir, that no great length of time will be required for the Baltic, which is not very deep, to become dry, and for people to ride post from Sundfud to Stockholm.

The observations which back this new assertion, are the modern names of islands, streights, capes; great rivers;

ings and anchors found in inland parts,  
 bodies of water lower than they were  
 formerly, different landings upon the  
 coast; in short, the most decisive are  
 rocks, which, within the memory of  
 the old men of that country, were for-  
 merly just even with the surface of the  
 water, and now rear their heads above  
 or even command the sea by several  
 fathoms.

I have heard some people maintain,  
 that the seas of the North diminish con-  
 tinually, whilst those of the South in-  
 crease without ceasing. This arises, say  
 they, from the centrifugal force,  
 which being greater, for example, in  
 the South than in Sweden, must consequent-  
 ly throw the waters back upon our  
 shores; so that the diameter of the  
 North becomes continually narrower to-

wards the poles, and spreads at the equator: but they do not consider that this action of the centrifugal force which they pretend to be perpetual cannot have taken place but in the origin when the earth began to turn upon itself, and that there was soon established an universal equilibrium, in virtue of which it constantly retains its spheroidal form.

There is much more subtilty in the reasoning of the Swedes, who pretend that, in general, the quantity of water upon our globe must diminish constantly, as well to the South as to the North. They found their opinion upon the authority of the great Newton, who, in the third book of his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, speaks to the following effect: "The food of vegetables is water."

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element which constitutes their parts and increase. Now when they are dead, they do not return to water, but a considerable part of their substance is, by means of putrefaction, converted into earth. From whence the terrestrial part of the globe increases from day to day, whilst, for the contrary reason, the aqueous part diminishes; so that this last would soon be reduced to nothing, if the tails of the comets, rarefied to an infinite degree, and dispersed in the space of the heavens, did not, in falling by little and little upon the planets, furnish vapours to their atmospheres, and moisture to their seas."

Thus it is, that, by the constant progression of vegetation, the quantity

of water diminishes incessantly; and which some are so thoroughly persuaded, that they do not scruple to believe that those wonderful layers of petrified shells, and marine fossils, which are sometimes met with up to the tops of mountains, far from being medals of the deluge, as a witty gentleman terms them, are, on the contrary, evident proofs of a bed of sea dried up by the sinking of its waters.

What is to be concluded from all this, Sir? Notwithstanding these fine reasonings, I make no doubt, that you still are for the elevation of the level of the sea. The demonstrations in favour of it are too striking; and vague traditions, conjectures, speculations concerning the primitive state of the earth how ingenious soever they may be cannot have much weight when com-

pared

pared with them. Especially as Hart-  
 öcker's observations upon the ocean,  
 absolutely contradict those of the  
 Swedes; and as to the Baltic, other  
 naturalists pretend that it is owing to  
 the elevation of its surface, that the  
 sea has penetrated between the conti-  
 nent and the territory of Rugen, which  
 did not antiently form an island.

For greater confirmation of this  
 truth, I will add, Sir, that being late-  
 ly in company with a learned English-  
 man, and the conversation falling up-  
 on this subject, he assured me, that,  
 having lived some time in the island of  
 Capræa, as famous for the purity of  
 its air as for the impurities of Tiberius;  
 he observed there, that the ground-floor  
 of a building erected in the time of the  
 Romans, and situated upon the borders  
 of the sea, is now submerged by it.

As

As to the rest, if there yet remain any doubts upon this head, no naturalist in the world is better able to clear them up, than the Empress of Russia: Sovereign of a part of the Caspian and of the Baltic, and of the immense coasts of the frozen ocean, she can order her Academicians to make observations, from which our descendants, at least, would see the truth in all its evidence: and this would not be the first important problem of natural history that Russia has solved. It is through her that it is now known beyond all dispute, that Nova Zembla is really an island; and that Asia extends very far, it is true, to the East towards America, but that, in fact, it is separated from it. There is but a narrow strait, through which our ships may one day go to the East-Indies, if, as

ordin



remaining according to the advice of Maupertuis  
 and Maclaurin, they will but dare to  
 keep out to sea off Zembla; steer to-  
 wards the pole, where the sea is free  
 from ice, and very wide, and from  
 hence turning to the East, enter into  
 the South sea; which, by a streight,  
 communicates with the frozen ocean.

**END of the LETTERS upon RUSSIA**

AN  
ESSAY  
ON THE  
DURATION of the REIGNS  
OF THE  
SEVEN KINGS of ROME

*Non quero rationes eas quæ ex con-  
jectura pendent, quæ disputati-  
onibus huc & illuc trahuntur,  
nullam adhibent persuadendi ne-  
cessitatem. Geometrae providen-  
t, qui se profitentur non per-  
suadere, sed cogere. CICERO  
Acad. quest. Lib. iv.*

NEWTON extended to the study  
of Chronology, that observing  
and enlightened genius, which shew

him the illusion of the most generally received philosophical hypotheses, and unveiled to him the springs of the true system of the world. The end of this science is to fix the epochas of history, and ascertain the precise dates of principal events; which becomes difficult in proportion to their remoteness, and as the monuments which might throw light upon them diminish. The guide to which the Greek Chronologists had recourse, to extricate themselves from this labyrinth, was the series of Princes who were said to have reigned in those distant ages. They looked upon it as indisputable, that the reigns equalled the generations in point of duration, and upon this foundation it was that they undertook to establish order in the chaos of their traditions.

New-

Newton perceived the want of solidity in their principle. As crowns do not always pass from the fathers to the children, as they are exposed to different revolutions, as those who wear them do not always keep them to the end of their days, as several of them perish by violent deaths; and as, therefore, the order of succession is sometimes interrupted; he judged, that there must be another rule for the duration of the reigns, than for that of the generations. In fact, he demonstrates, by an unanswerable calculation, that, whilst the generations may be estimated at thirty-three years, the reigns of all Kings, both antient and modern, whose chronology is certain, do not exceed, one with another, eighteen or twenty years each.

The

See  
Vol. I.



That long series of Emperors, which the annals of China present, down from Yu-Ho, during the course of above four thousand years,\* confirms admirably well the rule laid down by the English Philosopher; so that the antient Chronologists, who, reckoning a century for three Kings, are found to have increased their reigns near one-half, by that means throw history much too far back into ages of darkness. Newton therefore corrected the antient Chronology, and, agreeable to the laws of nature, brought the principal epochas of antiquity down nearer to us, and abridged the heroic times; just as Delisle, from exact

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\* See Du Halde's Description of China, Vol. I.

observations, contracted the limits of our continent, which was before made to extend very far into parts occupied by seas.

From a necessary consequence of his system, it is clear that historians have added considerably to the real duration of the regal state at Rome. They make it last two hundred and forty four years: the reigns of the seven Kings would be, according to this calculation, of thirty-eight years each, which, being contrary to all probability, we must conclude, that the ancient capital of the world is much less old than is generally thought.

It is a known fact, that when Rome was burnt by the Gauls, its archives were consumed in the conflagration.

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VOL. II.

consequently the writers, who afterwards undertook to transmit to posterity facts prior to that epocha, could find their accounts only upon vague and uncertain traditions.<sup>b</sup> It was therefore in their power to throw the reigns of the Kings back into the obscurity of time, and to lengthen their duration. The only law they were obliged to submit to was that of preserving their names, and of not altering essentially those principal events of which the memory still subsists. In every thing else they could give a loose to their imagination and to their prejudices; and indulge the inclination, which nations, as well as families,

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<sup>b</sup> See the Introduction to the Critical History of the Roman Government.

have of deriving their origin from as far  
back as possible.

As however the details, frequently  
minute, into which historians enter,  
and still more the form of annals which  
they take from the Romans, is, in the  
eyes of the multitude, a strong testi-  
mony in favour of the certainty of their  
chronology, I think it is proper to  
shew the whole of its invalidity. New-  
ton, keeping to the ordinary course of  
nature, has indeed demonstrated, that  
it is no way probable that seven Kings  
one of whom was expelled, and four  
died a violent death, should have  
reigned two hundred and forty-four  
years; but that great man not having  
stopped to discuss the fundamental  
part of the question, I have resolved to  
attempt it, and to examine carefully  
the epochas established by historians

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Idem  
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and principally by Livy, whose authority is the greatest of all. It will appear, that they cannot be reconciled with the facts to which they relate, and that they must absolutely be rejected, unless one be proof against all the improbabilities and contradictions which result therefrom.

To begin with Romulus, who is said to have reigned thirty-eight years: his principal exploits were the wars against the Sabines, who demanded back their daughters, and different incursions among the people of the country. Whatever name one may please to give them, they can hardly be made

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*T. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1. Plut. in Romulo, fine. Idem in Numa, in princip.*

to last more than one campaign each.<sup>d</sup> Plutarch gives us the epocha of that Prince's expedition against the Camerians, which was his last but one; and he places it in the sixteenth year of the foundation of Rome, or of his reign, which is here the same.<sup>e</sup> From that time to his death, the Veienti were the only people he encountered. They demanded the restitution of Fidæne, a town belonging to them, which he had seized upon before he took Cameria; and this circumstance seems a decisiv

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<sup>d</sup> I should even believe that all these excursions, the design of which was to seize upon harvests, crops, or to plunder a neighbouring hamlet, never lasted a whole week.

<sup>e</sup> Plutar. in *Romulo*.

<sup>f</sup> Id. *Ibid.* paulo post.

reaso

reason for not placing this last war of Romulus later than the seventeenth year of his reign; it being quite improbable that a powerful nation, such as the Veienti were, should defer any longer to insist on the restitution of their property. Wars then were sudden, and revenge soon followed the offence.

Thus Romulus's last expedition belongs to the seventeenth year of his reign. If he be made to reign thirty-eight years, it will be necessary to say, that, under this Prince, Rome was longer at peace than at war, which is absolutely repugnant to the warlike inclination all authors agree in giving him. It would be still more difficult to reconcile so many years of rest and inactivity, with the answer which Plutarch makes Numa return to the deputies

ties of the Roman people who came to offer him the crown. To excuse himself from accepting it, he represents to them, that their governor ought to be an active enterprizing man, and in the prime of life; and that, surrounded with so many enemies as Romulus had left them to encounter, it was less a King they stood in need of than a general.\*

Plutarch furnishes likewise another passage, not less conclusive to shorten the reign of Romulus. He died, according to that writer, at the age of fifty-four; so that, to preserve his thirty-eight years of reign, he must be supposed to have been but seven

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\* Plutar. in Numa.



teen when he laid the foundation of Rome. Now can it be imagined that this Prince could have atchieved all the great things which Plutarch relates of him, at a time when he was hardly out of his infancy? Troops of robbers destroyed or dispersed, the high roads rendered safe to travel, the weak protected against the oppressions of the strong; not to mention his prudence in council, his deep policy, and the other signal proofs he had already given of his capacity and valour, warriors assembled, a colony established, a city founded; do these things seem to suit so tender an age? It cannot then but be allowed, that the beginning of his reign has been placed too far back; and that several years must absolutely be retrenched from it.

Proceeding now from Romulus to the reign of Numa, which is said to have been of forty-three years continuance,<sup>b</sup> it is not less clear that this must likewise be shortened. I do not examine here the question debated by Livy and Plutarch, whether Numa could be the disciple of Pythagoras, and have drawn from the lessons of that illustrious philosopher, the plan of those religious establishments which contributed so much to the grandeur of Rome; it is certain, that, according to the vulgar chronology, the beginning of the reign of Numa preceded by a century the time when Pythagoras arrived

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<sup>b</sup> *Romulus septem & triginta regnavit annos Numa tres & quadraginta. Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. I.*

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<sup>1</sup> Qui re  
& armis,  
condere pe  
quia non  
edunt: qu  
tum ampliu  
Metapontun  
emulantium  
Ibid.

Pbrecide  
esse sempitern  
Pythagoras  
regnante in  
Græciam, &

Pythagora  
quibus L. I  
Lib. iv.

See also  
life of Num

In Italy; so that for this Prince to have him for his instructor, it would be necessary to place his reign lower

*Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam conditam vi & armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat - - - - - Auctorem doctrinae ejus, quia non extat alius falso Samium Pythagoram edunt: quem, Servio Tullio regnante Roma, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque & Crotona, juvenum emulantium studia cætus habuisse constat. Id. Ibid.*

*Pherecides Syrus primum dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos - - - - Hanc opinionem discipulus ejus Pythagoras maxime confirmavit, qui cum superbo regnante in Italiam venisset, tenuit magnam illam Græciam, &c. CICER. Tuscul. Quest. Lib. I.*

*Pythagoras qui fuit in Italia temporibus iisdem quibus L. Brutus patriam liberavit. Id. Ibid. Lib. iv.*

See also Plutarch in the beginning of the life of Numa.

down,

down, and to retrench considerably from the reigns of the five Kings, who wore the crown after him, till the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, the last epocha not admitting any contest. My present object is, to shew the reasons there are for shortening the reign of Numa; and the dispute about the precise time to which it should be referred, is, in itself, foreign to the purpose.

It follows, from the account given by Plutarch and Livy, that Numa by birth a Sabine, was forty years old when, after long debates during an inter-regnum of a year, he was at last

<sup>k</sup> Plutar. in Numa.

<sup>l</sup> *Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat.* Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.

*Annuumque intervallum regni fuit.* Id. Ibid. paulo post.

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<sup>m</sup> Inclita  
Pompili erat



chosen to succeed Romulus. We read, that what united the suffrages of all in his favour, was the high opinion which the whole country had conceived of his wisdom. Such, says Livy, was his justice and religion; such was his knowledge, both of the civil law and of the worship of the Gods; that, as soon as his name was pronounced at Rome, the different parties turned towards him, and though it might be feared lest the Sabines should endeavour to avail themselves of the King's being of their nation, yet the Senators unanimously decreed him the government; no one daring to seem to prefer himself, nor any one of his faction, before a man so generally esteemed,<sup>m</sup>

I now

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<sup>m</sup> *Inclita justitia religioque ea tempestate Numæ Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus*

I now ask, Whether it be credible that Numa had acquired such profound knowledge, and attained so high a degree of wisdom, at the age of forty? I ask at least, Whether it be probable that he could, at that age have so distinguished and so well known a reputation, that his name alone sufficed at Rome to silence the cabals of a long inter-regnum, to conciliate the minds of all, and to determine, in an instant, the different orders of the republic to give him the crown?

But

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*tissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam ætate esse poterat, omnis divini atque humani juris . . . . Audite nomine Numæ patres Romani, quanquam inclinatos opes ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur; tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis fove alium, nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam præferre illi*

*vire*

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*viro aufi, a  
deferendum*

Plutar.

° Id. Ib

° Nam  
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But that is not all. Romulus's colleague, Tatius, had given him his only daughter; and he did not determine to choose him for his son-in-law, but in consequence of the universal esteem in which he was held.<sup>a</sup> Though historians do not tell us the precise time of this marriage, one may boldly say that it was celebrated in the beginning of Romulus's reign, since Tatius was not alive at the time of the wars against the Fidenati and the Camerians;<sup>o</sup> that is to say, in the year sixteen

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*viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numæ Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Id. Ibid. inferius.*

*Plutar. in Numa.*

<sup>a</sup> *Id. Ibidem.*

<sup>o</sup> *Nam Lavinii quum ad solemne sacrificium eo-  
nisset (Tatius) concursu facto interficitur - - - -*  
*Fide-*

teen or seventeen of the foundation of Rome. Besides, Plutarch assures us that Tatius was dead when Numa was called to the throne, and that they had lived together the space of thirteen years; from whence it appears, that he enjoyed a very high reputation long before the death of Romulus. According to Plutarch's dates, it is even necessary to say, contrary to all likelihood, that it was so great at the age of five-and-twenty, that King Tatius thought it sufficient even then to compensate for the inequality of condition

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*Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes re-  
ti, priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum  
apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Tit. Liv.  
Decad. 1. Lib. 1.*

Plutar. in Numa.

<sup>p</sup> Plutar. in Numa.



We cannot then avoid giving at least three-score years to Numa, at the time of his accession to the crown. The speech which Plutarch puts into his mouth to excuse himself from accepting it, will thus cease to be an ænigma. A man of sixty may say he is worn out, feeble, and incapable by his age to command an army; a very extraordinary language, not to say more, in the mouth of a man of forty.

Supposing then, that Numa ascended the throne twenty years later than is commonly reckoned; as, according to historians, he died at eighty-three, the duration of his reign is bridged by so much; and by this means also the peace which Rome then enjoyed, which certainly is far more suitable to the situation of that infant republic, surrounded by people as much

much alarmed at her ambition, as jealous of her progress.

Livy says, that this peace lasted forty years :<sup>a</sup> but on comparing the different texts, and not letting anything escape, it would be found to have lasted in reality sixty-five ; namely forty-three years of Numa's reign, one year of inter-regnum, and the twenty-one last years of Romulus ; whilst, according to the facts we have just now discussed, it is reduced to twenty-four years. It will in this case no longer be surprizing that Tullus Hostilius the successor of Numa, should awake

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<sup>a</sup> *Hæc ferme a Romulo domi militiæque gesta -- ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit, in quadraginta deinde annis tutam pacem habere.*  
Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.

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<sup>1</sup> Tullus m  
triginta. Id  
Regnavit

<sup>2</sup> Jam filii

VOL. II

so quickly as he did, the martial spirit of the Romans, and make them triumph over several warlike nations. After a peace of sixty-five years, it would not be so easy to conceive the victories of that Prince.

Without attempting to retrench any thing from the two following reigns of Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius; the first of which is of thirty-two years, and the second of twenty-four; I will however say, that it is not probable the sons of this last had not attained the age of puberty at the time of their father's death, as Livy relates. \* An-

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\* *Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos & triginta.* Id. Ibid.

*Regnavit Ancus quatuor & viginti.* Id. Ibid.

\* *Jam filii prope puberem ætatem erant.* Id. Ibid.

cus Martius was five years old when Numa died : \* adding to that, thirty-two and twenty-four, we find that this Prince was sixty years of age when he died. Now at sixty he should, naturally speaking, have had more adult children ; it being customary for Princes to marry early, in order to leave behind them children able to succeed them in the government of their states.

It would be to no purpose to allege, that the crown being elective that consideration did not affect him ; or that all his first-born sons died perhaps in their infancy : for on one hand

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\* Plut. in Numa, sub fine. erat.

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such a supposition is little probable, and on the other it cannot be denied, that, when there were elections, the votes generally ran in favour of the royal family. Ancus Martius, who succeeded Numa, was grandson of that Prince ;<sup>u</sup> and after his death the elder Tarquin, whom he had appointed guardian of his children, removed them from Rome on the day of the comitiæ, by which he caused himself to be proclaimed King, though their youth was such, that his ambition needed not to have been alarmed.<sup>w</sup>

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<sup>u</sup> Numa Pompilii regis nepos, filia ortus Ancus Martius erat. Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.

<sup>w</sup> Jam & Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiarum faciebant : & ipse (L. Tarquinius) quoque

This Tarquin the elder is represented to us as an usurper, who possessed himself of the throne in prejudice to his wards. He reigned, it is said, thirty-eight years; and at length the sons of Martius, hoping to recover their father's crown when he should be no

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*que fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi beneficiisque quos poterat, sibi conciliando adjuvabat. Donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est, notitiamque eam brevi, apud regem liberalitate dextreque obeundo officia, in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset. Et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.—— Jam filii prope puberem aetatem, et magis Tarquinius instare, ut quamprimum comiti regi creando fierent. Quibus indidit, sub tempus pereros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et perisse ambitiose regnum, et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam. Id. Ibid.*

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more, caused him to be assassinated. \* It is undoubtedly strange that they should delay their revenge so long; at least they must have been very unfortunate for a conspiracy, so long concerted, to end only in their being banished from Rome. One may therefore conjecture, that the reign of the elder Tarquin is, like the former, susceptible of abridgment.

What shall we now say of his successor, Servius Tullius? We are told

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\* *Duo de quadragesimo ferme anno ex quo regnare ceperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo, sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant, se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos — sed & injuriæ dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat. — Ob hæc ipsi regi insidiæ parantur. Id. Ibid.*

that he was assassinated, after a reign of forty-four years, <sup>1</sup> by Lucius Tarquin, surnamed the Proud, who looked upon him as an intruder, and a slave mounted by fraud upon a throne, wrested from the lawful heir. To perceive the absurdity of this chronology, one need only recollect, that Tarquin the Proud was old enough to marry when Servius Tullius was proclaimed King, and that he actually did marry a daughter of his; <sup>2</sup> that he was of a violent temper, inordinately

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<sup>1</sup> *Servius Tullius regnavit annos quatuor & quadraginta. Id. Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Nec jam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes. Et ne qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquinii liberum esset duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniis jungit. Id. Ibid.*

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ambitious, and that his wife Tullia, who was not less so than him, incited him incessantly to rebel, and never left him a moment quiet.<sup>a</sup> Livy never speaks of this Prince, during the life of Servius, but as of a young man;<sup>b</sup> and the history of the revolution which placed him upon the throne represents him as such: we therein see, that he seized his unfortunate father-

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<sup>a</sup> *Et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, & domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante — Nec nocte, nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita præterita parricidia essent. Id. Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Servius, quanquam jam usu haud dubie regnum possederat, tamen quia interdum jactari voces à juvene Tarquinio audibat, &c. Id. Ibid.*

*Quid te ut regium juvenem conspici finis? Id. Ibid.*

in-law round the waist, that he carried him out of the Senate-house, and that he threw him down from the top of the steps into the public market-place. Such vigour would be as extraordinary in a man of sixty-four, as the epithet of young man is misplaced when applied to him; and yet it cannot be pretended that Servius reigned forty-four years, without giving, at the time of his death, nearly that age to his successor Tarquin.

This last of the Kings of Rome is said to have reigned twenty-five years. \*

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\* *Tum Tarquinius—Multo & ætate & viribus validior medium arripuit Servium: elatumque curia, in inferiorem partem per gradus dejecit.* Id. Ibid.

† *L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque & viginti. Regnorum Romæ ab condita urbe annos cccxlii.* Id. Ibid.

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The adventure which occasioned his expulsion is well known. His son Sextus and Tarquinius Collatinus being encamped before Ardæa, which they besieged, mutually indulged themselves one day in praising the virtue of their wives; and each of them maintained that the palm of chastity was due to his: this was the origin of Lucretia's misfortune, of the Consulship, and of the liberty of Rome.

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*\* Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium conviviis comeffationibus ve inter se terebant. Porte potantibus his apud Sextum Tarquinium, ubi & Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius Egerii filius incidit de uxoribus mentio. Suam quisque laudare miris modis, inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri quantum cæteris præstet Lucretia sua. Quin si vigor juventæ inest, consedimus equos, invisimusque præsentēs nostrarum ingenia? Id. Ibid.*

Now

Now this Tarquinius Collatinus was, as may readily be supposed, a young man; Livy even says it expressly. According to this author, his father was Egerius, nephew of the elder Tarquin, who gave him the command of Collatia, a town newly conquered from the Sabines. †

Collatia was taken in the beginning of the reign of the elder Tarquin, that is to say, that, according to the common chronology, it cannot be placed lower down than the hundred and fiftieth year of Rome. At that period Egerius, to be able to fill a post of

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† Collatia, & quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum Egerius (fratris hic filius erat) Collatiæ in præsidia relictus. Id. Ibid. multo ante.



such importance, must be at least about forty years of age; and it seems by so much the more indispensable to allow him that age, as he was born, according to Livy, before the elder Tarquin settled at Rome. Now I ask whether

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*Anco regnante, Lucumo vir impiger, ac divitiis potens Romam commigravit. Damarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Turquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium hæres. Arans prior quam pater moritur; uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater: qui quum ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato, ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra omnium hæredi bonorum, quum divitiæ jam animas facerent auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, & quæ haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora finiret*

whether it be conceivable that a man, who was forty years of age in the hundred and fiftieth year of Rome, could have a son, yet a young man, in the year of Rome two hundred and forty-four? For that to be, he must have had children when near an hundred years old, which, instead of being unnoticed by Livy, ought to have been recorded among the marvels of Pliny's Natural History. Consequently they who would abide by the genealogy of the Tarquins, must indispensably shorten the reigns of the elder Tarquin,

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*neret ea que innupisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenita erga patriam charitatis dummodo virum honoratum videret, concilium migrandi ab Tarquinis capit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa. Id. Ibid.*

of Servius Tullius, and of Tarquin the Proud, which cannot then exceed the course of one generation.

Another equally strong reason for abridging the reign of Tarquin the Proud, as well as that of Servius Tullius, his predecessor, is, that when Tarquin the Proud came to the crown, he was sixty-four years old, as was before seen: adding to that the pretended twenty-five years of his reign, it follows that he was eighty-eight years old when he was dethroned; a circumstance which his historians would probably not have omitted, if it had been true. Several years after his expulsion from Rome, that is to say, towards his hundredth year, we read that he fought on horseback near the Lake Regillus, against the Dictator Posthumius, and that he was wounded

wounded in the engagement.<sup>1</sup> This absurdity, which follows from Livy's dates, is too gross for us to spend time in noticing it. It is of a piece with that which results from the vulgar chronology, concerning the age Helen must be of when she inflamed Paris, and kindled the Trojan war. Common tradition makes her the twin sister of Castor and Pollux, both of whom were in the expedition of the Argonauts. From that period to the ruin of Troy, the most authentic calculations allow at least seventy years; so that one is

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<sup>1</sup> *In Posthumium, prima in acie suos adhortantem instruenteque, Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam jam ætate & viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit: ictusque ab latere, concursu suorum, receptus in tutum est. Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 2.*

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forced to say, that that marvellous beauty was cotemporary with Hecuba, when Europe and Asia went together by the ears for the honour of possessing her. Accordingly Lucian jokes prettily enough about her age. It appears that Dionysius of Halicarnassus recollected that of Tarquin; he felt the absurdity of making him fight battles when bent beneath the weight of a century, and at that of the Lake Regillus, he substitutes in his stead Titus Tarquinius, his son.<sup>†</sup>

The contradictions between the common chronology and the principal circumstances of the reigns of the seven Kings of Rome, prove then de-

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<sup>†</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. Lib. vi.

monstratively that several years must be retrenched from them. Under the impossibility of reconciling the events and the dates, under the necessity of looking upon the one or the other as fictions, there seems not to be room to hesitate: tradition has undoubtedly preserved the substance of the facts more faithfully than the precise time when they happened. Besides, it cannot but be allowed that an illiterate people, ignorant of even the first principles of astronomy, may very easily have mistaken the number of the revolutions of a planet.

If now we adopt the rule observed and verified by Newton, and in consequence thereof reduce the reigns of the seven Kings of Rome, taken together, to eighteen or twenty years

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each; the difficulties vanish, and history becomes enlightened. Romulus will no longer be a child who founds an empire; Numa, by his age and mature wisdom, will have united in his favour the different parties which disputed the crown; the sons of Ancus Martius, in the age of passions and of violence, will not have kept their ambition captive during thirty years, and deferred at that time to take revenge on their guardian; Tarquin, bent with years, will no longer display the strength and vigour of youth; every event will coincide with the order of nature.

To prove, in every shape, how much historians have erred when they make the regal state of Rome last two hundred and forty-four years, we will end with examining the number of the

generations which they reckon, and comparing the result of them with their chronology. We see in the life of Romulus, that Hostilius, grandfather of King Tullus Hostilius, died in the war against the Sabines, <sup>k</sup> which happened in the first years of the foundation of Rome: <sup>l</sup> consequently the reigns of Romulus, Numa, and Tullus, did not take up more than two generations. There is also but one from Numa to Ancus Martius, the former being grandfather of the latter; from whence

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<sup>k</sup> *Principes utrinque pugnam ciebant: ab Sabinis Metius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius—ut Hostius occidit, &c.—Inde Tullum Hostilium nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus jussit. Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1. Plut. in Romulo,*

<sup>l</sup> Id. Ibid.



it follows, that the generation which intervened between Numa and Ancus, coinciding with Tullus, from this last Prince to the reign of Ancus, cannot be reckoned more than one generation; and according to this calculation, from Romulus to this period, we have about three generations.

Tarquin the elder, one of the Lucumons of Etruria, was past his youth when he went to Rome under the reign of Ancus, who appointed him guardian of his children. His age being thus nearly the same as that of that Prince, there remains but one generation to reckon between the reign of Ancus and that of Tarquin the Proud, son of the elder Tarquin; and consequently from Romulus to the expul-

tion of this last, there are not more than four generations <sup>m</sup>.

Livy, it is true, does not dare to decide whether Tarquin the Proud was son, or only grandson of the elder Tarquin. But besides that most historians agree in saying that he was his son, and that Livy himself has adopted

For Romulus, Numa, and Tullus } 2  
Hostilius, two generations,

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this opinion; <sup>a</sup> Collatinus, who, towards the end of the reign of Tarquin the Proud, was yet young, though his father Egerius had attained the age of maturity in the beginning of that of the elder Tarquin, proves evidently that there was no intermediate generation between those two Princes.

Now then reckoning, according to the common estimate, the generation at thirty-three years, we shall have an hundred and thirty-two years for the

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<sup>a</sup> *Hic L. Tarquinius Prisci Tarquinii filius nepos  
ve fuerit, parum liquet: pluribus tamen auctoribus  
filium crediderint.*

*Devolvere retro ad stirpem fratri similior quam  
patri quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante,  
perpetui sint. Tarquinius reges ambos patrem voruisse  
filium perfecisse. Tit. Liv. Decad. I. Lib. 1.*

duration of the regal state of Rome, whilst, according to Livy, it lasted two hundred and forty-four, so that there is upwards of a century difference between two results which ought to be the same. On the contrary, if, with Newton, we reduce the seven reigns to nineteen years each, one with another, they will amount to but an hundred and thirty-three years, and their duration will agree perfectly with that of the generations during which they happened.

Thus Newton's chronology, in justifying Virgil from the anachronism of which he is accused, for having made Æneas and Dido live in the same age, may also justify the common tradition of the Romans, that Numa had been the disciple of Pythagoras, and  
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## EMPIRE of the INCAS.

*Nous seuls dans ces climats nous som-  
 mes les Barbares.*

VOLTAIRE'S *Alzine*.

**A**MONG the false opinions which  
 have gained credit in the literary  
 world, the prejudice that the Greeks  
 and Romans are the only people worth  
 studying, is not the least deserving of  
 notice. In consequence of that preju-  
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dice, the generality of men of letters disdain even to cast a look upon the nations they are pleased to call Barbarians, because it has not been their lot to have for historians a Thucydides or a Livy. Such is not the way of thinking with philosophers, who, not content to travel by the help of books, in the country of Cicero and Demosthenes, choose to run over the whole surface of the globe, with an enquiring eye. They see that the countries most despised by our learned, can furnish us with great examples, and important instructions for every thing that relates to civil life; just as those animals, which are commonly reputed the most vile, are generally those from which we derive the greatest service.

In North-America, the republic of the Iroquois is principally distinguished.

ed. They fix our attention, among the several tribes that surround them, as well by their conquests, as by their love of liberty, their passion for glory, and the opinion universally established among them, that they are the most excellent nation upon the face of the earth; an opinion, which, joined to activity and valour, may, in fact, make people be what they imagine they are.

The little value which their Sachems or Chiefs set upon riches, is unexampled in our civilized governments: honour and shame are the first cause of their actions; the one is their principal reward, the other their greatest punishment. Maturity in councils, quickness in execution, good faith in treaties, fidelity in keeping them, and above all, resolution to do and suffer what



what would shake the most intrepid courage, render them equal, not to say superior, to the Romans. But, as the virtue of these last was at length corrupted by the luxury of Asia, so that of the Iroquois has not been proof against our spirituous liquors; and since we communicated to them our intemperance, they have greatly degenerated.

If, in North-America, those nations whom we think proper to call savages, might often serve us for models; in the South of that continent, the Peruvians, whom we esteem fit only at most to exercise the genius of our novelists, do not less merit our admiration. History, whether antient or modern, does not offer any thing more interesting than their Princes or Incas. We see them, without any other aid than their dexterity

dexterity and genius, form an immense plan, and complete it within the course of a century, by putting in action means as extraordinary as they were profoundly meditated, by employing the maxims of a consummate policy, and by setting at the same time striking and continual examples of piety, magnificence, and valour: in a word, they afford us the only example of a private family's attaining, in but a short time, to the dominion of a vastly extensive and immensely rich country: and of its founding there an empire which few in Europe can now be compared to.

It extended from Quito to beyond Chili, and was 130 leagues in length. See *Garcias-Lasso-della Vega's History of Peru and of the Incas.*

Mango

Mango Capac, from whom the Incas derived their origin, was, about the middle of the thirteenth century, the Romulus of that empire: with this difference, however, that Romulus, at the head of a troop of banditti, called himself the son of Mars; and that Mango, without partizans and without arms, gave out, like Orpheus, that he was the son of the sun, and lent by that principle of the fruitfulness of nature, to deliver mankind from the state of barbarism, in which they lived like the brute creation. He collected them together, taught them the most useful arts, knew how to employ them, to soften them, to tame them, and to multiply their wants in order to keep them in subjection. In short, such was his wisdom and industry, that he drew from the depth of  
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the incaverns great numbers of savages, and, putting himself at their head, founded the city of Cuzco, which became in a few years the Rome of that vast continent. All Mango's successors and descendants laboured with equal assiduity, to complete the great work he had begun; and what they did is the strongest proof of what can be done by prudence, opportunity, and fortune combined.

The Incas were a set of men half missionaries, and half conquerors: they preached sword in hand, and fought with the pastoral staff: their tenets were simple and few. They taught a Supreme Being, the Creator of all things, whom they called Pachecamac, that is to say, the support of the universe. They added, that the sun is his image, and that this be-

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beneficent planet, as his principal instrument, animates the earth, impregnates it with the virtue of Heaven, and gives life to the world.

They boasted, as was before said, of deriving their origin from it, and of being sent by it to civilize mankind, to give them the rules of morality, to teach them the arts fittest to render them happy ; and in fine, to reveal to them the knowledge of God, his worship, and the tremendous mystery of another life, in which the wicked will be rigorously punished, and the good nobly rewarded. They declared expressly, that, after death, these last enjoy a perfect and unalterable tranquillity of mind and of body ; whilst the impious and transgressors of the laws suffer, incessantly and without end,

end, all the evils and all the pains to which humanity is subject.

Such were their tenets ; they preached them at the head of an army, which kept on the defensive, till the savages, whom they intended to convert, were sufficiently instructed : they never proceeded to hostilities, till incredulity and obstinacy left no farther room to hope any good from time and pains. The prodigies which attended the mission of the Incas, were the felicity of the people subject to their government.

They instructed them in the art of spinning wool and cotton, of draining and cultivating the land ; they rendered every one useful to society, and punished idleness as a robbery of the public. They allotted to the blind and to the

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the lame suitable occupations, sufficient to prevent their being burthensome to the state. As to the old, they were maintained at its expence; only they were to take care not to let birds feed upon the new-sown grounds. Upon the highways there were, from space to space, a kind of caravanseras, where travellers had the convenience of resting and refreshing themselves; in a word, the security of individuals, and the vigour of the constitution, were the end which these wise Princes endeavoured to accomplish by every kind of means. The sight of the happiness of those who lived under their laws, rendered the savages who were witnesses of it, docile to their yoke, and converts to their mission.

They divided the lands into three equal parts: the first was reserved for

the sun; they kept the second for their domain; and shared the third among the inhabitants of the country: by this distribution they excited the industry of the people who had but a small patrimony, and increased continually the strength of the empire and the majesty of religion. The austerity with which they had cloathed it, contributed still farther to make it be revered. Every one has heard of their virgins consecrated to the worship of the sun by the most solemn vows: they were subjected to laws at least as severe as those of the Roman vestals.

The august pomp of the temple consecrated to the sun, the splendour of the festivals celebrated to its honour, the magnificence of the palace and court of the sovereign, all confirmed the people, sober and poor in the midst of

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of riches, in the belief of the divinity of their masters. Besides that the Incas were the supreme heads of the religion, the magistracy and the army, they had concentrated in themselves every power, and thereby multiplied the titles best calculated to render them respectable. One would almost think, that when they laid the foundations of their empire, they took council of one of the most profound politicians of our continent, who, inculcating in Princes that they ought, if they are wise, to delegate the least they possibly can of their authority, by a figure suitable to the time in which he lived, bids them observe, that the rays which are of gold in the sun, are but of silver when reflected by the moon.

They never married out of their own family, as if they could not have allied

allied with the rest of mankind without degrading themselves; and at the same time they descended like fathers into the most minute details of the wants of their subjects, watched over them continually, and were in a manner present incessantly before them, visiting successively the different provinces of their empire, and maintaining justice and the laws in vigour, in every part, by their personal inspection.

By such steps it was, that the Incas found means to unite the priesthood and the empire, the sceptre and the censer, the humanity of government and the terror of arms, the pomp of the Eastern monarchs and the popularity of the Kings of Europe; in a word, they possessed, in a very high degree, that great art of the most dexterous

dexterous Princes, of concealing the designs of their passions under specious pretences, and, by a happy choice of suitable means, to lead men, as of their own accord, to the objects they are least fond of, and for which they seem to have the greatest reluctance.

What shall we now say when we consider that these Princes, these pretended barbarians, not only conducted themselves according to the wisest principles of policy; but also, which is its master piece, knew how to give way to circumstances, to suit their laws to them, to mitigate them, and to interpret them according to the occasion and time, without bringing in question their dignity? Though arms appeared to be the natural profession of the Incas, though they seemed to

heed nothing but conquests, and though they were almost always at the head of their army, they did not the less know how to take advantage of the divisions that arose among the nations with which their empire was surrounded. They assisted the weakest party against the strongest, animated them underhand one against the other, and at length reduced them to slavery, generally contenting themselves with conquering without triumphing.

The family of the Incas, of which the King was the chief, ranked incomparably above every order of the state, and was even respected as superior to the condition of man; the only and fundamental cause of their sovereign power. Yet Mango Capac honoured with the title of Incas the first people whom he reduced under his laws; and,



as the Romans did formerly with regard to the Latins, he classed them as his associates, rather to make them serve as co-operators in his designs, than to share his authority with them.

Though religion seemed always to be the first cause of every action of these Princes, and the soul of their military expeditions, they were not however so rigid in point of belief, as not to tolerate the worship of the conquered. They constantly over-looked opinions which the attention of government alone renders dangerous, by giving them an air of importance; their great care was to let controversies remain buried in obscurity, to prevent parties becoming sects, to hinder dogmatic questions from rending the state; and above all, they laid it down

as a fundamental maxim never to defile religion with blood; and never to suffer victims to be sacrificed to fanaticism. This spirit of peace and wisdom is remarkably conspicuous in the conduct of Viracocha. That Emperor having convened a kind of synod on account of the worship of the inhabitants of Lima, far from being against their keeping an old idol, famous in their nation for its oracles, gave them leave to continue to offer up sacrifices to it; only requiring that they should acknowledge the divinity of the sun, and obey its children.

The Incas shewed a similar regard for the laws and customs of the people they subdued. They continued in their offices the Curacas or Generals of the conquered, leaving them however only a subordinate authority under

der that of the Inca, whom they appointed governor of the province. At the same time they took away their children, under pretence of treating them with distinction, but in reality to have hostages for their fidelity. These youths, by breathing the air of the court from their infancy, were, by the time their education was completed, full of its spirit and manners, attached by habit and gratitude to the royal family, and in every respect different from what they would have been if they had remained with their parents. Thus it was that, like those botanists, who, pulling up young trees and replanting them with the head downward, force their branches to become roots, and their roots to turn into branches, the Incas found the secret to change intirely the ideas, the prejudices, and the opinion of those they  
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governed. By these wise precautions, whilst they left the conquered a semblance of their antient freedom, they prevented all abuse of it, and took from them every means of revolting: which is known to have been the master-piece of the policy of the Romans.

They agreed also with those great masters in the art of government, in a point not less essential to secure the possession of conquered provinces. They settled colonies in them, whilst they seemed to have no other view than to embellish them with aqueducts and high roads; with one hand they raised temples, and with the other they built fortresses in them. Above all, they took care to make the language of the capital become that of every people



people subject to their empire; well knowing that nothing cements nations and towns more closely than their speaking the same tongue. It seemed to them, that men accustomed to confound the signs of things with the things themselves, would soon see alike after they were once agreed in the expression.

Pachacutec, one of the greatest Princes that ever reigned in Peru, issued an edict by which he forbade speaking any other tongue than that of Cuzco; and as William the Conqueror distributed Normans in all the convents of England, and published his laws in the French language, of which there yet remain striking proofs in the Jurisprudence and Legislation of this island, that Inca sent school-masters into all the provinces of his dominions,

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to teach his subjects the language of the metropolis, and to make those Quipos, or knots, which, by the mixture of their colours and threads, were among the Peruvians, as letters are among the people of our continent, the sign and expression of the most secret thoughts. If the importance of Pachacutec's edict was great, the penalty which he inflicted on the negligent and refractory was not less severe; he excluded them from all offices and employments; we know that the Emperor Julian, that enemy of the Christians, thought this the kind of martyrdom most likely to shake their faith.

What chiefly contributes to the prosperity and glory of an empire, is military discipline. Accordingly the Peruvians were at all times prepared for war,

peace

peace being to them, in some measure, but a continuation of it; and among them the slightest fault in the service was irremissibly punished. Before a young Inca was armed Knight, he was obliged to give strict proofs of his capacity, that is to say, of his dexterity in wrestling, of his expertness in the management of arms, and of his agility in racing, of his bravery, and of his skill in attacking and defending a fort. It certainly cannot be denied that their troops were well-disciplined, since they never employed armies of more than fifty or sixty thousand men, even in their greatest conquests. They likewise kept an exact register of the number of persons in the empire. Each order of citizens was in a manner divided into different classes, and each division was subject to the inspection of a chief. No man could obtain  
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the least command in Peru, without having first served the apprenticeship of obedience.

After these regulations, so wisely calculated for every part of the administration, and which are no way inferior to the best our Europe can boast of; one is undoubtedly curious to be informed what establishments the Incas made for the advancement of learning. How will the greater number be surprized to hear, that those Princes, so judicious, instead of trying to promote it, endeavoured on the contrary to prevent its spreading among the people? It appears, that they knew the fatality attached to the sciences; and that they foresaw they could not be released from closets and libraries, without exciting those troubles and disorders which have desolated the states where they have flourished most.

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It happens but too often that simple individuals, hurried on by the warmth of their imaginations, and puffed up with an opinion of their own knowledge, dare to lay an audacious hand upon the veil of the sanctuary, to examine the springs of the political machine, to fathom the foundations of the constitution, and to investigate upon what the helm of government turns. Obedience to the laws, and veneration for opinions necessary to the welfare of society, always lose in philosophical discussions. From the moment that the learned begin to figure, the people cease insensibly to be good.

There are few men of sound judgment who do not wish the greatest part of our books, and especially those that  
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are most in vogue, and of which the public are fondest, to undergo the same fate as the Alexandrian library; and the new Omar, who should commit them to the flames, could not assign a better reason than that ignorant and judicious conqueror. The Incas then interdicted the sciences to the people, as a secret of state: they communicated to them only what they judged necessary, by the administration of the laws, which, like a voice from heaven, speak peremptorily to men, and direct them without affording room for disputes.<sup>p</sup> They would have their subjects practise virtue, and not meddle with defining it.

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<sup>p</sup> *Legem per brevem esse oportet quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur, velut emissa de caelo vox sit: jubeat non disputet, &c. Seneca. Ep. xciv.*

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The manual and mechanical arts were the only ones they thought useful to the people. As these exercise the body, render it robust, dispel the inquietudes of the imagination, lead men from caballing against the state, and even turn to its advantage, they neglected nothing to make them flourish. It cannot be conceived what pains the Incas took for this purpose: the success answered completely. They who have lived some time in America, and who have been within reach of observing how much the minds of the Peruvians are naturally sluggish, not to say stupid, are forced to acknowledge the miracles which legislation can operate.

Who would believe that such a nation ever equalled the most ingenious people, and the most consummate in

Vol. II. M the

the arts? That which is the first and noblest of them, and which gives life to all, Agriculture, upon which the Romans founded their empire, and the best soldiery in the world, and to the progress of which the English now owe the extent of their trade and power, was equally honoured and perfected in Peru. The King, on a certain day of the year, encouraged tillage by his own example, and traced out furrows with a golden plow, which is religiously kept in the treasury, as a sacred instrument. The Peruvians were very intelligent in distributing water over their country, in order to increase the fruitfulness of the lands, and guard against droughts; they did not yield, in this respect, either to the Persians, among whom the great men of the empire applied themselves to hydrostatics, nor even to the Moors, whose



whose works in this way are still admired in Spain.

With regard to the beauty and magnificence of the buildings in Peru, of the fortifications, the bridges, the canals, the cause-ways of that empire, and the roads as superb as they were commodious, which intersected its vast extent, one may judge what they once were by the monuments which still remain of them. The Mathematicians who went lately thither in order to determine the shape of the earth, took drawings of some of them, and they are sufficient to convince us of the degree of perfection to which that people, on whom we set no value, had carried the arts.

Among the nations foreign, if one may be allowed so to say, to our world,

it is to the Chinese, that we commonly decree the palm. The trade which we carry on immediately with them, and the great use we make of their industry, contribute perhaps powerfully to the opinion we entertain of their superior excellence. Be that as it may, this antient people, intent for so many ages upon the studies of peace only, and whose conquerors did not hesitate to embrace its laws and customs, seems to us that to which we ought to adjudge the first rank among the moderns. The learned are yet divided in their admiration of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Chinese; and each of these three people has its partizans and devotees.

Yet the Chinese, often praised with so much enthusiasm, never knew how to perfect any thing. When we first  
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became acquainted with them; they had observations from time immemorial, and could not make an almanack; though they used gunpowder and guns, they had not the least idea of artillery; with their boasts of having discovered the mariner's compass many ages before us, they were still at the very first elements of navigation; and in fine, after having cut canals through every part of their empire; for the convenience of trade, they were obliged to learn of the Europeans the art of imbanking them. If, on one hand, we attend to that kind of beaten track which confines them within the circle traced out by their ancestors; and on the other, consider how the Peruvians, ignorant of the principles of mechanics, destitute of the helps it furnishes to transport great weights and multiply strength, without having even the use of iron,

were able to perform works, which, for difficulty, grandeur, and magnificence, fall no way short of those of Rome and Egypt; \* I do not know which of

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\* There were in the fortrefs of Cozeo stones upwards of forty feet long, which had been transported thither from very distant provinces. There are about four hundred leagues of extremely difficult road from Tumipampa to the capital; and yet the Peruvians drew from thence the enormous stones with which the temple of the sun was built. *Essais de Montagne, Liv. III. C. iv. des Coches.*

“ IT must, however, be confessed, that  
 “ upon comparing the one and the other”  
 (the Indians of different countries) “ with  
 “ the wonderful description which some histo-  
 “ rians give of them, one cannot believe one’s  
 “ own eyes. All that is related of their ta-  
 “ lents, of the different establishments they  
 “ once had, of their laws, and of their poli-  
 “ cy, would be liable to suspicion, if it was  
 “ possible to go against the testimony of so  
 “ great



these two nations will be judged to have the greatest right to our esteem.

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But

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“ great a number of authors worthy of credit,  
 “ and if there did not also remain several monuments which prove undeniably, that the  
 “ condition of these people formerly must not  
 “ be judged of by that in which we now see  
 “ them.

“ It is not to be conceived how they could  
 “ raise the walls of their temple of the sun, of  
 “ which the remains are still to be seen at Cozco.  
 “ Those walls are formed of stones  
 “ which are fifteen or sixteen feet in diameter;  
 “ and, though rough and irregular, fit so exactly one with another,  
 “ that there is not the least chasm between them.  
 “ We saw the ruins of several  
 “ of those buildings, which they call Tambos.—  
 “ Their walls are frequently of a kind  
 “ of granite, and the stones which are cut  
 “ seem

But what ought to make the Peruvians be looked upon as superior to every other nation, is the excellence

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“ seem to have been worn away by rubbing  
 “ them one against another, so perfectly do  
 “ they fit. We likewise observed in one of  
 “ those Tumbos some heads of beasts, which  
 “ serve for ornament, and of which the per-  
 “ forated nostrils support rings which are  
 “ moveable, though they are made of the  
 “ same stone. All these buildings were situ-  
 “ ated along that magnificent road which leads  
 “ in the Cordillere of Cozco to Quito, and  
 “ even farther, which was near four hundred  
 “ leagues in length, and of which we have  
 “ often followed the traces.” M. BOUGVER,  
*Figure de la Terre, ou Relation abrégée du*  
*voyage, &c. Art. v.*

See likewise M. de la Condamine's Memoir concerning some antient monuments of Peru, in the time of the Incas, in the volume of the Academy of Berlin for the year 1746.

of their institutions concerning the manner of bringing up children. It is well known what great uses an intelligent legislator may make of the education of youth, to give valour to cowards, strength to the weak, honesty to the wicked, in short, to mould his nation just as he thinks proper. Chemistry, in adding to iron, by its processes, new principles of inflammability, changes its form by the lustre and elasticity it gives it, converts it into steel, and renders it in some measure a new metal: such is the prodigy which education operates every day upon men.

Lycurgus's action, to inculcate in his countrymen a thorough sense of this important truth, was perfectly judicious, and is well known. He carried one day, into the midst of their  
assem-

assembly, two dogs of diametrically opposite inclinations. One of them was as familiar, as the other was wild; the former fell greedily upon all the dainties that were offered him; the other did not so much as smell at them, and seemed not to care for any thing but the game he caught in hunting. The Lacedemonians expressed great surprize at it. Know, said Lycurgus to them, that these two dogs not only had the same mother, but that they also were pupped at the same litter; the difference in their inclinations proceeds solely from the different manner in which I have brought them up.

There are in most cities, as a celebrated writer remarks, certain families which seem to distinguish themselves from all the rest, by their particular manners and way of thinking.

It



It is not to the blood, which marriages vary incessantly, that this turn of mind, which seems hereditary in them, can be imputed; to explain how it is perpetuated in them, it is necessary to recur to the sameness of education which transmits it from one generation to another. A child, from its earliest infancy, hears daily a thing commended or blamed: he cannot but be struck with it: in these first years, when, void of ideas, he receives greedily all those that are offered him, the judgments which his parents make in his presence, are so many principles which he adopts mechanically. Thus, at Rome; the Manlii were haughty and obstinate; the Valerii affable and favourable to the Plebeians; the Appii ambitious and zealous partizans of Aristocracy. Without needing to search into antiquity for proofs of the justness of this obser-

observation, we have sufficiently striking ones around us. The Japanese, hardened by a ferocious education, are insensible to the greatest misfortunes; their unappaleable soul is proof against the severest blows of fate; they are a nation of Stoics. Before the Europeans had formed such considerable settlements as they now have in North-America, armies of Scævolas and Regulus's might have been raised there; and upon the coast of Coromandel there still are Portia's every-where. 10

No legislator ever knew better than the Incas the force of custom, its influence on the mind and on the body, the empire it exercises over nature, nor understood so well as they, how to make the education of individuals form a part of the constitution of the state. To give at once a complete idea of

of the wisdom of their regulations in regard to this essential object, it will be sufficient to say, that, if a young man was guilty of a breach of the laws, he himself was but slightly punished, and the whole rigour of offended justice fell upon his father, who had neglected to direct his infant inclinations towards virtue, and to inspire him with an early taste and love for it; the indolence and indulgence of the parents being always the principal cause of the misbehaviour of their children.

The Incas attained likewise of themselves the knowledge of that important maxim, so deeply inculcated in the immortal writings of the greatest and most universal of legislators, Lord Bacon, that in most states it would not be necessary to enact so many laws  
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for the reformation of mankind, if early care was taken to form the morals of children. This was the principal care of the Peruvians; and a glory which they share with none but the ancient Persians; because the history of their institutions passes, with the multitude, for nothing more than a philosophical romance.

Happy were these people in having for their masters Princes equally wise, penetrating and judicious, who knew how dexterously to turn their subjects the way they wanted to lead them, and never employed in their commands any thing but reason and example. That goodness and that prudence, which heaven seems to have destined for only a few favourites, appeared to be common and hereditary virtues of all the Incas. Of thirteen Kings who reigned



reigned in Peru, the twelve first were nearly like Trajan, that pious, virtuous, and magnanimous Emperor, who heaped happiness and glory upon Rome, shewed himself to be the best of Sovereigns, and, according to the expression of a great man, seemed to be born to do honour to human nature, and to represent the divine. Athualpa alone, the last of them, deviated from the road marked out by his ancestors. According to Garcias-Lasso Della Vega, he was another Caligula, and studied only to overturn the establishments of his predecessors.

So it was that the golden age reigned truly in Peru, and that these numerous people lived, during upwards of two centuries, in the happiest state that human nature can enjoy. In that short space, they made immense progresses

gresses of every kind. Ought one to be surprized at the grandeur and prosperity of an empire, whose Prince was less its Sovereign than its universal soul, and who so truly held all its springs in his own hands, that each individual seemed to derive every motion from him; where every precaution that prudence and foresight could suggest, had been taken, to prevent idleness which enervates states, a diversity of sects which disturbs them, and foreign wars which overthrow them; where religion and the laws were alike protected by arms; where, in fine, implicit obedience and perfect contentment were united in the hearts of all the people; which may be called the philosopher's stone in politics, first found by the Incas?

How

How then could it happen, some one will perhaps say, that a handful of Spaniards should subdue, in so short a time, so great an empire, so well provided in every shape, and whose constitution was so firmly established? But is it not natural that people, absolutely ignorant of the art of navigation, may have been struck with terror at the sight of warriors who poured in upon them as it were from the bottom of the seas? Our fire-arms seemed to them so many thunders, and our horsemen so many centaurs: so that the astonishment with which our artillery, our ships, and our cavalry filled the Indians, was far greater than that with which the intrenchments and military machines of the Romans struck the Gauls, who were dragged into slavery chiefly

VOL. II.                      N                      through

through their admiration of their enemies,

Yet, notwithstanding that inestimable advantage which the Spaniards had, of seeming to be beings of a superior nature; they would perhaps never have subdued America, if chance and circumstances had not concurred to facilitate their conquest of it. But, fortunately for them, Cortez found upon the throne of Mexico, Montezuma, an irresolute and pusillanimous Monarch, who knew not how either to shew a confidence in the Spaniards, or to resolve to fight them; whilst Pizarro found Peru for the first time rent by factions, and at the head of that empire Athualpa, a Prince detested by the soundest part of the nation, who lost, in a few



[ 179 ]

few days, the fruit of two hundred years labour, and contributed himself, as much as the Europeans, to the ruin of what the wisdom and virtue of the new world had produced most accomplished.



F I N I S.



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*TRANSLATOR'S Preface.*